Islam in The Modern World

Vol. II
Tradition, Revolution and Culture

By
Hassan Hanafi
Professor of Philosophy
Cairo University

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Islam in The Modern World

Didicat

To My colleagues who made me understand why philosophers wrote on human passions.

Hassan

Preface

These collected papers are written mostly during 1978 – 94 over sixteen years after the first collection covering the period 1971 – 75. They all fit with the title "Islam in the modern world"

The first Volume : Religion, Ideology and Development" contains four chapters.

The second Volume : Tradition, Revolution and Culture" contains five chapters.

I would have preferred this book to appear in South Africa, Malaysia or the U.S.A. after being edited, but waiting too long makes the data obsolete.

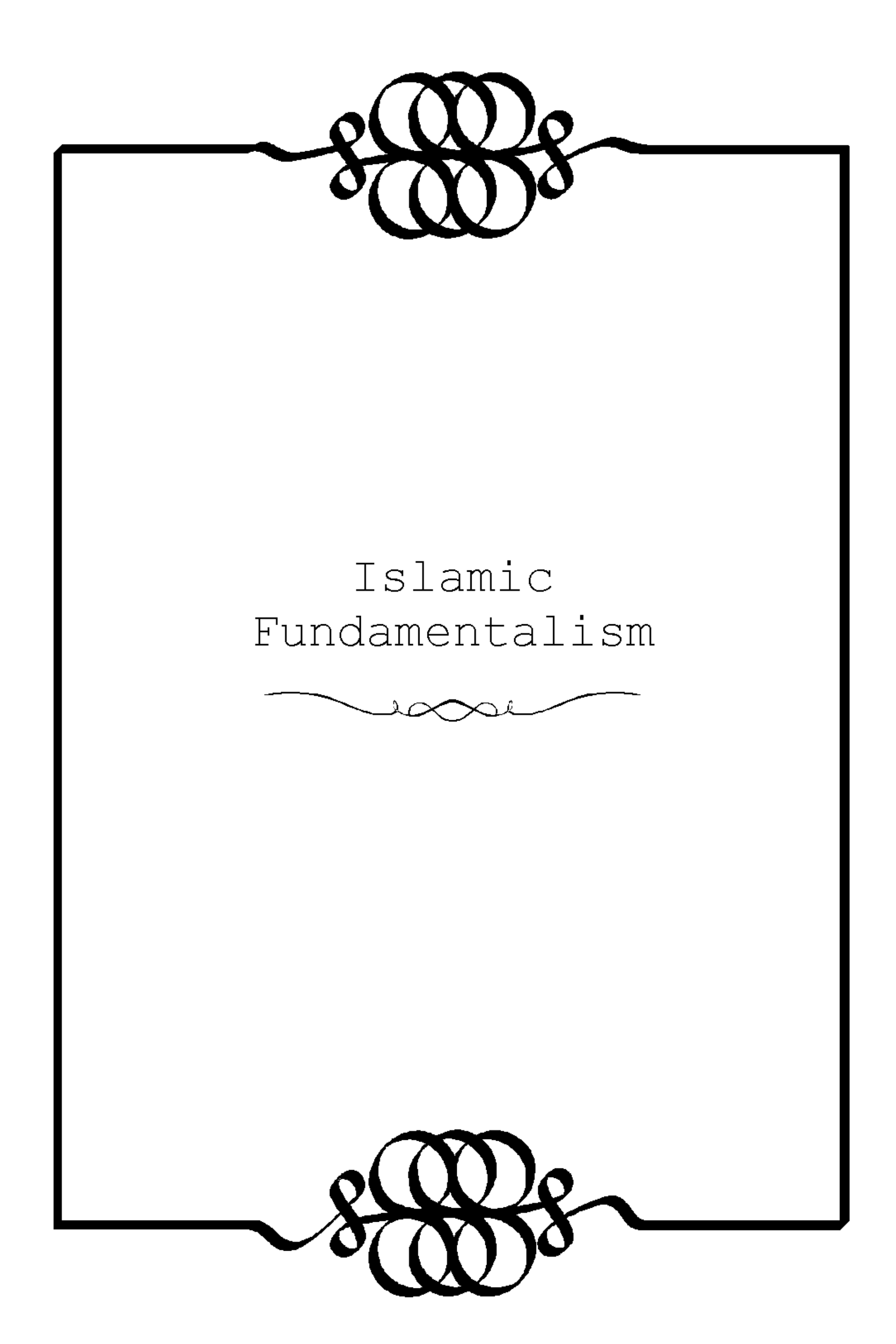
I decided hatively to launch this edition in Cairo, promessing a second one, more perfect.

This is the second edition hoping for more perfection[1].

Hassan Hanafi Nasr cit y, Februar y,1995

(1) This second edition was made by a grant from Ford Foundation.





Islamic Fundamentalism

ORIGIN OF MODERN CONSERVATISM AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

It is clear for any one who observes the Muslim world that religious conservatism and Islamic Fundamentalism appeared in the last decade. Their strength continues, tacitly or publicly, as in Iran and recently in Saudi Arabia. They are present in the heart of the masses and wait an occasion to appear.

The sudden appearance of Islamic groups shows only the top of the iceberg. Most of them are still underground. The control of the mass-media by the State does not permit their free expressions. They explode once safety valves are under too much pressure from beneath. The awakening of Islam as a sleeping giant is a natural phenomenon. The Muslim World lives now at the beginning of its XV the century. According to popular tradition, at the end of each century a moderniser has to appear. Each Muslim waits this appearance. This is not millenarianism but "centurism". Since nothing appears in history accidentally, the three following reasons can be given to explain this curious phenomenon as seen by the West, which the masses are waiting for a simple parousia [*].

1. The Failure of Modern Ideologies of Progress

All modern ideologies of progress failed during the last quarter century to modernize Muslim societies. They contributed

(*) Presented at Conference on Religion and Religious Movements in the Mediterranean Area, University of Amsterdam Free University, Department of Education and Science, 18-20 December 1979. Translation from a French version since the original English version was lost.

even to perpetuating backwardness, decadence and defeat. The gains have been superficial: economic development, increase of production, and they were neutralized by deeper losses: regression of Muslim consciousness among the Muslim Masses, fear, indifference, and hypocrisy. Nothing remained for them except Islam and their tradition, which survived all vicissitudes of history. Islam remained, even in its traditional form, the only possible alternative for the Muslims and their salvation.

A - The Failure of Western Liberalism

Before the Arab revolution, Western Liberalism ruled in Egypt. In spite of some positive results in the economy (national banks and industry) and in politics (political liberalism and freedom of expression), this period ended in complete failure, before the Egyptian revolution. The King represented a power intervening in the multiparty-system, dissolving the parliament, abolishing the constitution, dismissing the elected prime-minister, creating parties favorable to the monarchy, and assassinating the leaders of the opposition. The multiparty system was a game between majority parties in power and minority parties in opposition. All wanted power and liquidation of the opposition. Elections were falsified by the ruling party. Votes were bought and the State's bureaucracy was constantly intervening. Practicing a political economy of "laissez-faire," the capital was in control of a handful of Pashas playing with the stock-market. Egypt was only a cotton plantation for the British textile industry while local industries were also in their hands. Workers had no rights. Big landlords representing 0.5% of the people owned more than 50% of the land. Peasants belonged to the

land, bought and sold. A minority was extremely rich while the majority was extremely poor. Illiteracy was 85%. University education was expensive. Only the rich elite could afford it. The alliance with the West was permanent foreign policy in spite of the British occupation of the Suez canal. Muslim Brethren were persecuted. Hassan al-Banna, their charismatic leader was assassina-ed in February 1949. For the masses, this total corruption offended rigorous Islamic ethics. Islam could have solved the social, political and economic problems of Egypt. The Muslim Brethren secret organization had to use violence as a legitimate means for self-defense. As the political crisis became more serious, Islam appeared as the only possible option.

B - The Failure of State Socialism

The revolution erupted in Egypt in July 1952. It brought radical change and modern society: agrarian reform, public sector, co-operatives, industrialization, workers' rights, free education non-alignment, socialism, evacuation of British troops from the Suez canal Area, Arab socialism, national struggle for all colonized people, Afro-Asian solidarity, and the tricontinental conference.

However, State socialism failed to modernize Arab societies, which suffered from many other failures: the defeat of 1967, Denasserization since 1971, putting an end to socialism, alliance with the U.S.A., isolation of Egypt from the Arab World, and recognition of Israel. There were some reasons behind this failure. The revolution changed social structure, the ownership of the means of production, and the economic system, without making parallel changes in mass-culture, which stayed in its traditional form.

Socialism, freedom, Arab nationalism (Pan-Arabism), production, all were secular values without any significant impact on mass-behavior. The ideological schools of the party, youth organizations and the mass-media were unable to convince the masses. Islamic socialism was used as religious justification of 1961 socialist laws issued through political power. But a real change in traditional religious beliefs, deep rooted in mass-culture, did not occur. The difference between slogans and realities, freedom in theory and despotism in practice, socialism in theory and wealth of the power-elite in practice, Arab unity in theory and Arab disunity in practice, this difference between official discourse and concrete reality made the masses suspicious of socialist ideology. The coherence between words and deeds is a religious principle in mass-culture.

The formation of a new class having the ruling elite at the top and the resurgence of new feudalism in the countryside, combined with a new capitalism in the private sector (construction, wholesale trade), left the masses in complete indifference regarding the intellectual apparatus of the political regime. The absence of a popular political party which can rally the masses behind the regime strengthened mass suspicious. The masses stepped away from any political activism, viewed as opportunism. The people were an easy target for the activities and the work of Muslim groups. The clash with Muslim Brethren and the smashing of the major Islamic group in Egypt made them the real alternative to the failed State socialism. Arrests, tortures, and executions of its members rallied the masses behind them.

In the last decade, religion was used as an easy explanation of the defeat of 1967 in order to quickly preserve mass support of the

failing regime. It was said that, had the people been closer to God and steadfast in their faith, victory would have come. The victory of 1973 was due also to the return to faith. The prophet and the Angels even came and crossed the Suez Canal with the soldiers. The State of "Science and faith" became the model of the modern state. Religion was used emphatically in the final five years as a mean to discredit political opposition, all opposing groups-Nasserites, Marxists, democrats, unionists, Muslim revolutionaries-were all atheists. The frenzied soul of Islam was used by political leadership as the only justification of its authority. Muslim groups, namely Jama'a Islamiyya, were used in the campus to clean out all progressive groups. Fanaticism became a common practice in daily life. The call for prayer five times a day in the mass-media, competition in mosques, promoting beards, dressing the veil, praying in the middle of classes, all are essentials of “Integrism”. Accordingly, political leadership from its side propagated mystic values like patience, resignation, reliance, predestination, love, peace, and tolerance to subdue the masses and protect them against subversive rejectionist values. Obedience to the “head of the family”, the “commander of the believers” became the highest model of citizenship. Religious conservatism played the role of opium of the people for political leadership while Islamic fundamentalism played the role of the “sigh of the oppressed” for the Muslim masses.

C - Failure of Traditional Marxism

Classical or dogmatic Marxism participated in political struggle in the Muslim world. It did not succeed in arriving to power except lately in one or two Muslim countries. In spite of its successes in leading national liberation against colonialism,

obtaining national independence, attacking problems of under development, illiteracy, poverty, and industrialization, it also had its limits. The adopted ideology, the ideology of the working class (Afghanistan), Marxism Leninism (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) was uprooted from the people's tradition.

Like all other secular ideologies, it does not speak to the heart of the masses. Dialectical materialism, quality, quantity, contradiction, all are inconceivable by the illiterate masses. That is why the ideology remained the prerogative of the intellectual elite in spite of the claim that it is the ideology of the working class or of the proletariat. The revolutionary intellectual elite may form strong mass leadership. However, ideological pedantism is incompatible with religious populism. The scientific ideology is almost impossible in a mythical society which is still operating through images, symbols, stories, narratives and all forms of anthropomorphic thought. In underdeveloped countries, motivations are a part of the people's conceptual framework. A demagogue may rally the masses behind him more than a Marxist with a scientific outlook of the universe. Abandoning popular schemes is itself unscientific, once these schemes are operative at least for one or two generations. Rationalism, naturalism, democracy and human-ism, as metamorphoses of popular traditions, may be more useful than a scientific ideology.

Traditional Marxism was applied literally without any adaptation to the circumstances of particular Muslim societies. Class struggle, religion as opium of the people, dictatorship of the proletariat, the priority of infrastructure over super-structure may not

correspond to the Muslim masses which believe in the Umma as an indestructable tie, in the religion of the poor and the oppressed and which demonstrate the predominance of traditional belief systems for mass behavior. Studies on particular societies were absent, as if the general theory was a magic key for all social problems.

Because of the absence of clear phases in social change and the desire to change the society in one shot, coup d'etat was the means to have power and to launch the process of social change. The changes from above always put Marxists in conflict with political regimes. They were easily accused of being atheist and agents of the Soviet Union.

The masses stayed away from the quarrel and left their leaders, who defended their interests, to be arrested, tortured and jailed. It was an occasion for the leaders of the Muslim group to have a free hand on the popular political scene as indisputable leaders of the masses.

D - Failure of Tribal Ritualism.

Tribal ritualism, called "Islamic Fundamentalism" in the West, also failed to maintain an Islamic rule and to establish an Islamic State. Lately its authority has been shaken and challenged by fundamental Islamic groups in the recent attacks on the holy places in Mekka and Medina. The so-called strong "Islamic fundamentalist State" failed to maintain its legitimacy and power with young zealous and pure Muslims.

There are several reasons for this failure. Islam has been transformed to pure ritualism without any social, economic or

political content. On the contrary, this ritualism has served as a cover-up to the most horrible exploitation and despotism. Rituals have served as a license for illegal deeds. The Saudi regime has indeed no Islamic justification whatsoever. It is a tribal regime which emerged after the defeat of other tribes in the name of religious reformism (Wahhabism). That is why it is called Saudi rule. The royal family owns every thing. The family princes are the absolute owners of the petrodollars. All forms of corruption on the front pages of Western mass-media--gambling, concubinage, polygamy, homosexuality, luxury, exuberance, all formed the image of the "ugly Arab."

What is left to the people are charitable works. Tribal ritualism opted for a Western alliance: military pacts, air and marine bases, money invested in American banks, all were seen by Muslim masses as anti-religious. The wealth of the tribe was in flagrant contradiction with the poverty of millions of Muslims from Morocco in the West to Bangladesh in the East, from Turkey in the North to Chad and Sudan in the South. Thus tribal ritualism became the custodian of conservatism and reactionism in the Arab and Muslim World. Socialism and progressivism were real threats to it. After the failure of Arab socialism in Egypt after Nasser's death, ritualistic Islam was a common dominator in both Egypt and Saudi Arabia. It presented a common ground against all forms of radical change in the area. The call for the liberation of Palestine and for the recovery of Jerusalem was addressed to the feelings of Muslim masses.

If religious conservatism played the role of the consolidation of reactionary regimes in the Arab World, Islamic fundamentalism played the role of the opposition to these regimes in both Egypt and

Saudi Arabia. Regenerated in underdeveloped societies, Islamic fundamentalism may still be behind Muslim socio-political consciousness. It may still be the victim of formalism, fanaticism and Westernization.

II- Cultural Confrontation: Superiority-Inferiority Complexes.

Religious conservatism and Islamic fundamentalism received another push from external factors. The Muslim World has been in confrontation with the Western world, from the Crusades in the middle ages till modern colonialism and imperialism in contemporary Muslim societies. In order to dominate, the West in the name of its culture launched the most severe attacks on the source of power in the Muslim heart, namely Islam. Orientalism began to distort Islam as revelation, religion, culture, history and people.

Partial judgments were made which hurt Muslim consciousness, negation of Islamic revelation, forgery of the Qur'an, epilepsy and polygamy of Mohammed, propagation of Islam by the sword, Ahl Al-Dhimma as second class citizens, imitation of the Greeks, the Persians, the Hindus or the Romans, deformation of Greek philosophy and science, confusion between Plato, Plotinus and Aristotle. Other judgments were directed to the Muslim soul itself, as in the case of the distinction between the Semitic and Arian minds. Islam was held responsible for underdevelopment in Muslim societies. Islam itself is against progress, science and modern life.

If Orientalism has nowadays retracted itself from such judgments, it still carries more sophisticated ones regarding the types of Islamic culture, the cave-type (Spengler). Western social sciences took over and continued the same endeavor. Anthropology created

"Islam observed." History of religions described Islamic rituals, Sufi practices and Cults of the Saints. Theologians spoke of Islamic fatalism and predestination. Philosophers of history made Western culture the peak and the model of all human cultures. Islamic culture was an eclectic medieval one that prepared the glorious advent of Western culture. Missionaries were not far away from the field. They stepped in, participating in a process of acculturation.

Such misjudgments, probably based on bad intentions, generated in the Muslims a strong desire to defend their spiritual patrimony and to hold steadfast to their religion. They reacted against the misapprehensions of the West and found in Islam their own salvation. The desire to destroy Islamic identity in Algeria and Iran generated the opposite, the affirmation of Islamic Identity in the most fundamentalist way. Islamic fundamentalism meant, then, anti-Western culture, good or bad. It presented a retraction from Islamic reformism that accepted good aspects in Western culture, namely science, progress, democracy and technology. The West, which wanted to modernize the Muslim World, instead generated religious conservatism and Islamic fundamentalism.

The alliance of Western powers with anti-Islamic leadership in the Muslim world against the interests of the Muslim masses gave practical evidence that Western powers were antagonist to them. France supported Gellawi against the Moroccan people's interests. The USA supported the Shah against the Iranian people's interests. Western powers were behind all the reactionary political leadership in the Muslim World. Muslim's wealth was usurped by the consent and condescension of local leadership. In spite of

military and technical aid to Muslim countries, the Muslim masses felt pushed away from a real process of development, thus confirming the outside view that Muslims will always remain imitators of progress and not its creators.

The West has always tried to convince the Muslim World that it will never be able to reach the last stage of development in advanced, industrial and super technologized societies. The speed of development in the West is much higher than the speed of catching up by Islam. The Muslim world will receive a cultural shock that will lead it finally to complete despair. Facing this complex of inferiority, the Muslim world has tried to find in Islam a source of power through which it can have a compensation for this widening distance between itself and the West. The more productive the West becomes, the more attached to their own traditions the Muslims become. Muslim traditionalism is a natural reaction to Western modernism.

Simultaneously, the Muslim world sees itself contemporary to what is called in Western literature "The decline of the West." Western thinkers themselves describe the phenomenon, testify to it and warn against it. Supremacy in material production is countered by a spiritual vacuum and moral crisis. Many philosophers bewail the reversing of values (Sheler), bankruptcy of the soul (Husserl), total nothingness (Nietzsche, Heidegger, Sartre), and matter as creator of God (Bergson). Conservatist and spiritual philosophies reacting against this Nihilism were propagated in the Muslim world as inside witnesses from the West. The Muslims were confirmed as right then, to hold their spiritual values, lost in the West. This call for the spirit in underdeveloped societies appears in religious

conservatism (ritualist Islam) and in Islamic fundamentalism (religious rejecting groups). If the glorious Western culture has had this sad end, a fortiori progress is not a model to follow. To fold into oneself is much safer then to reach out. “Retour aux sources” is much better than “retour à la nature.”

III - Discovery of Indigenous Powers.

Traditional Islam has stayed in the heart of the masses as a historical continuum, stable and stagnant. In the last seven Islamic centuries 7th - 14th, Islamic culture lived on its own, limited to commenting on itself after its golden age in the first seven countries (1st - 7th). This turning point in history marked the end of rational sciences (Philosophy, Usul Al-Fiqh) and the predominance of irrational sciences (mysticism and fiqh). In theology, Mutazilism ended and Ash’arism dominated. Islamic culture became monolithic. The living tension between opposing trends: traditionalism and modernism, conservatism and progressivism ended in the victory of the first over the second. This victory was the historical reservoir of religious conservatism, supported by the type of superstructure in underdeveloped societies. The masses held Islam as a source of historical security, as a last resort, a custodian of their spiritual patrimony.

In the last two hundred years, Islam was seen as the only viable ideology for the Muslims. Reformist movements tried to rediscover Islamic rationalism, scientism and progressivism. It went half-way with Muhammed Abdou and then returned back to its traditional track with R. Reda. Islamic activism appears now in that line: conservatism in thought and fundamentalism in action. The overthrow of the Shah of Iran by a religious leader gave all Muslim

groups' young leaders a renewed confidence in social and political change. Thus Islam as ideology and motivation is still the sharpest weapon to be used in any mass movement.

Conservatism may be obscurantism in theory, but it is a source of energy that can burst out at any time. The Muslims have begun to discover their indigenous powers. Historical traditionalism, present conservatism (due to underdevelopment) and actual self-confidence combine to generate Islamic fundamentalism.

Although the majority of the Muslim masses are still illiterate and depoliticized, they hear about their new wealth, oil. natural resources, vast markets, cheap labor, strategic areas. They read about the future of the world and the eminent place Muslims can have in it. Their glorious past can serve as a model for a more hopeful future. Traditionalism, "Salafiyya," meant "retour aux sources." Under this impulse, formal Aristotelian logic in the past has been criticized and a new inductive logic has been discovered. Traditionalism in that sense implied rejectionism, the defense of authenticity against alien forms of thought. Once more, conservatism generates fundamentalism. Under the same impulse, modern conservatism discovered that all the other political systems were alien forms, so Islam appeared as the only viable political system for the Muslims in the modern world.

The fragility of actual political regimes in the Muslim world gave Islamic activist groups even more self-confidence. Some collapsed and others are waiting to fall, some of these Islamic activist groups obtained successes, a complete success in Iran or a relative success in shaking the regime in Saudi Arabia. Some gained popularity like in Egypt, and others are on their way.

Mahdiyya and Senusiyys resurged in the Muslim mind. On the other hand, the Muslim masses are waiting for radical changes in their life. Failure of ideologies, trials of leadership and still indifferent masses are increasingly fertile soil for generating Islamic activism. Leaders and members of Islamic groups become highly respected day after day. Their readiness for sacrifice and their zeal make them a model of behavior in the eyes of the Muslim masses. It is very difficult to condemn them for the principals they believe in. Some of their judges sympathized with them during their trial and some others even adopted their ideals. They asked for dialogues, open discussion and free expression, they challenged the Ulemas of Al-Azhar to confront them. Their strength in courts and the weakness of their prosecutors cast a shadow on the relation between the present and the future.

Although Islamic groups are not experts in international affairs, their leaders as well as their members have a strong feeling of a new world order. The crisis of the West as well as of the East, in capitalism as well as in socialism, gives them an acute sense of the drama of the modem world. The crisis in the West: lack of primary sources, energy, high wage labor, lack of markets, competition, exploitation, corruption, militarism, aggression are without solution from within. The super-powers are defeatable in the face of people's will for independence.

Furthermore, Muslims see that high principles and codes of ethics are only applicable within Europe for Europeans. Outside, there is another code of ethics for the Barbarians. Words are different from deeds. The West did not offer any model of ethical behavior. The moral crisis in the West left the youth in complete spiritual vacuum.

But the crisis of the East is no less. It appears in collectivism, oppression of the individual, lack of production, imitation of the West, and compromises on principles. In spite of all efforts of system rehabilitation by borrowing from the West, the crisis of the East was not solved. Nor is there any solution from within.

Here, Islam appears as the only savior of the World. It is the foundation of a new world order. It offers the solution of the actual world crisis in the East as well as in the West. The Islamic Umma is ready for it. It is the best Umma (community, society) which ever existed on Earth. It is still the guardian of principles and the custodian of universal values. It orders doing good and abstaining from evil. Islam is still conserved in the heart of the masses. The baby has not yet been thrown out with the bath water. Islam is the final revealed religion, the accomplished prophecy and the perfect model of life. The Muslims still have the sense of the message. They carry the deposit God offered to all nations, to do good on Earth and to abstain from mischief. Islam, the education of humanity in the past, is still able to play the same role in the future.

In the past, Islam found its way between two failing empires, the Persian and the Roman. Both were exhausted by wars. Both failed in their moral and spiritual crises. Islam, a new world order, was able to expand as a substitute to the old regime. Nowadays, Islam finds itself again as a new power making its way between the two superpowers in crisis. Islam is generating, while the two super-powers are degenerating. Islam is the power of the future, inheriting it from the two super-powers in the present. It is up to Muslim groups carrying Islamic fundamentalism to tell whether this prophecy will be fulfilled or whether it may stay as pure messianism.

THE RELEVANCE OF THE ISLAMIC ALTERNATIVE IN EGYPT

I - Introduction

The aim of this paper is to give an internal insight into "Relevance of the Islamic Alternative in Egypt" beyond historicism. A break-through in positivist orientalism is necessary to understand history, not only to explain it, once the native scholar is an integral part of it. He is not an impartial spectator trying to gather materials which carry pieces of information based on statistics, proper names, time-tables, references, encyclopedies or some diagrams of social science, but a living person, in the midst of the present social drama, participating in making his own destiny and trying to perceive a trend in which he is a part. The native scholar is, at the same time, the subject and the object. He is a part of the object and his own life is a subject matter. He is analyzing his own soul, in which history culminates.

This situation imposes on him the choice of a certain method which permits him to perform this self-analysis and to reinstitute the past in the present. The phenomenological method reveals itself as the most relevant method to achieve this purpose. This method can very easily describe living experiences and transform historical events to living situations. Heidegger calls this historicity and Bultmann, "Sitz im Leben." The author of this paper is a part of the Islamic movement in Egypt. Being a phenomenologist, he finds

(*) Paper delivered at the First International Seminar, Institute of Arab Studies, 5-6 June 1981, Boston USA.

himself with no other choice except the use of the phenomenology-cal method to analyze the "Islamic Alternaltive" in Egypt[1]. This method has been practiced lately in the social sciences and has been proved relevant and fruitful [2].

II. Historical Roots

Religion has always been identified with the Egyptian people. Religion incorporated their science, art, philosophy, literature, beliefsystem, and values. Religion was the origin of culture. The construction of the pyramids was done by the masses as an act of devotion. The Pharaoh is Divine and the priests are also Divine. The Sun, the Nile, the animals, namely the core of Egyptian peasant life, were all Gods. Religion was intertwined with daily life to the extent that it would be impossible to dissociate the holy from the profane. This union was the cause of two opposite judgments made by several scholars on the Egyptian people, the most religious and the most profane as well [3].

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(1) Hassan Hanafi, Les méthodes d'éxègese, essai sur la science des fondements de la compréhension, Elm Usul al-Fiqh, (Le Caire: Imprémerie Nationale; Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1965): L'Exégèse de la phénoménologie, L'etat actuel de la méthode phénoménologique et son application au phénenomène religieux (Le Caire: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1965, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1979); La phénoménologie de l'Exégèse, essai d'une herméntique existentielle à partir du Nouveau Testament (Le Caire: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1966. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1981).

(2) Stephan Strasser, Phenomenology and Human Sciences (Duquesne University Press, 1963).

(3) Sayyed Owais, Al-Khulud fi al-Thaqafa al-Masriya [Immortality in Egyptian Culture] (Cairo, Dar al-Ma'arif, 1965); Al-Khulud Fi Hayat al-Misriyyin al [Immortality in Egyptian Contemporary Life) (Cairo General Book Organization,1972); Ata' al-Mu'dumins (The givings of those who have not] (Beirut: Arab Establishment for =

The Copts of Egypt continued the same religious tradition. Monophysim was a continuation of their belief in One Divinity. Islam took over and expressed the same doctrine in a purified belief-system: the unity of God, the creation of the World, and the immortality of the Soul.

Religion in Egypt, throughout all phases of history, reveals the same popular religion: grace, predestination, intercession, healings, eschatology, festivals, and ceremonies. Popular religion is a continuous stream in Egyptian life: the veneration of priesthood, love of the Saints, dreams and prophecies of the Seers, rituals and offerings [4]. Religion is rooted in social life and at the very base of social solidarity and communal life[5]. Jews, Christians and Muslims of Egypt participate indeed in one religion, this popular one beyond external and historical formulations.

Religion was anchored in the State. The Pharaoh is at the same time God, the Son of God, the Prophet (Akhenaton), the ruler, the leader. Religion was never a private affair, an internal devotion, but was manifested outside in actions and institutions in the external World. The great revolutions of Egypt were religious revolutions, Akhenaton, Moses, the Fatimids, the Ottomans, al-Afghani. Ibn Khaldoun observed already that the Arabs never make any progress without prophecy, or mission [6].

= Studies and Publication, 1973). Risa'il lla al-lmam al-Shafi'i, Letters to Imam al-Shafi'i); second edition (Cairo, Kuwait, Amsterdam: Al-hayat Publishing House, 1978).

(4) W. Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions, (Schocken, N.Y., 1972).

(5) Ibn Khaldun, At-Muqadima (Cairo), pp.159-61.

(6) Ibid, p.151.

Islam became the religion of Egypt, adopting all religious traditions of the past. Islam is identified with Egypt. From the birth of Islam till Nasser, Islam was a shaping factor in Egyptian history. Egypt is mentioned in the Qur'an, and the people are much aware of this. The prophet described Egyptian soldiers as the best soldiers on Earth, always ready to fight till the last judgment.

During the Fatimids rule, Islam became more and more a political tool in the hand of the ruling elite, to subject the Masses. Religious institutions were created to that effect, namely, al Azhar, and have continued till now playing this role. But during the Ayyubids, Islam played another role, that of the struggle against the Crusaders. Under the Mamluks and the Turks, Egypt conserved the Islamic legacy in huge encyclopaedias and was the center of learning in the Muslim World. Scholars considered Egypt their spiritual patrimony. Al-Shafii, Ibn al-Farid, al-Siyuti, all came out of Egypt.

Most of the invaders tried to portray themselves as being like the natives. They adopted Islam, the religion of the people. Napoleon declared himself a Muslim, dressed as a Muslim and entered al-Azhar, the biggest religious institution. From the same place, the revolution against Napoleon began.

With Mohammed Ali, Egypt's desire was to become the successor of Istanbul. Cairo would be a new capital for the Califate. Religious leaders of al-Azhar legalized the take-over of Mohammed Ali as the ruler of Egypt. Those who opposed were liquidated. The rest were mute, confining themselves to teaching and preaching. These three attitudes of religious leadership became Ideal Types for the relation between religions and political authorities (7).

(7) Saniya Qurra'a: Tarikh al-Azhar (History of al-Azhar) (Cairo: Maktabat al Sahafa al-Dawlia), pp. 228-66.

With Urabi's revolution against the mischiefs of Tawfik, the new nationalist movement wanted Egypt to continue as a part of the Califate. Urabi, by his nationalist claims, was defending the interests of the Sultan and implementing the Sharia's requirements. When the British wanted to discredit Urabi in the eyes of the masses, they forced the Sultan to issue a legal opinion, a Fatwa. that Urabi was a heretic in order that Egyptian soldiers and civilians should desert him.

Even Nasser, when socialism in Egypt was attacked by the Saudis on the grounds of religion, defended himself using the same weapon. A huge literature on Islam and Socialism was produced to that effect. When Sadat afterwards defended the status quo against the Nasserists, he also used Islam as a traditional value-system to discredit progressive values calling for social change [(8)].

In recent history, from the last century until now, all "ideological" trends in Egypt in recent history, were more or less connected to Islam. Islam is the main stream from which all ideological trends originate or deviate. Religious Reform represented by al-Afghani, M. Abdou, R.Reda, H. al-Banna and others was and still is one of the major trends in Egypt. Egyptian nationalism came out of it. Al-Afghani was the Founder of the Egyptian national party. He himself launched the slogan "Egypt for Egyptians." His disciple M. Abdou wrote the first manifesto of the Egyptian national party. Urabi's revolution was the implementation of al-Afghani's teachings in Egypt. Mustapha Kamel, Mohammed Farid, and Sa'ad Zaghlul,

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(8) Hassan Hanafi. "Religion and Income Distribution in Egypt," in Income Distribution in Egypt (Princeton NJ. : Princeton University Press, forthcoming).

major leaders of Egyptian Nationalism were all disciples of M.Abdou, as were Kasim Amin who called for Egyptian Women's Liberation, and Mustapha Abd al-Razek who tried to reform Islamic sciences in Egyptian universities and to initiate a new approach to Islamic philosophy (9). Even Nasser in the "National Charter" claimed that Egyptian Nationalism and Socialism are the implementations of the Reformist ideas. Sadat decided to republish al-Urwa al-Wuthqa, the first organ of the Reformist movement founded by al-Afghani. A new organ for Islamic opposition in Egypt, the “Islamic Left”, is also claiming its foundation by al-Afghani, having his picture, his name and the title of his magazine on the cover as symbols (10). Till now, the Reformist movement remains the only refuge for any political trend which determines to be authentic, as all other secular ideologies fail to take hold.

Liberalism, founded by Tahtawi, a sheikh from al-Azhar and continued by Lutfi al-Sayyed, Taha Husein and al-'Aqqad also found its roots in Islam. Al-Tahtawi wrote a book on Paris, Talkhis al-Ibriz and at the same time another one on the prophet Mohammed, the dweller of Higaz. When he tried to give a model of a modern Egyptian State in Manahig al-Albab al-Misriyya, he went back to tradition as a conceptual framework, using scriptural arguments and expressing religious traditional conservatism, namely Ash’arism (11).

(9) M. Abdou, Al-A'mal al-Kamila [Complete Works, vol. 1). Al-Kitabat al-Siyasiya (Political writings) (Beirut: Arab Institute for Research and Publication, 1972)pp.367-70.

(10) Hassan Hanafi, ed., Al-Yasar al-Islami (Islamic Left), January 1981.

(11) R. R. al-Tahtawi, Manahig a-Albab al-Misrya (Cairo, 1912).

Lutfi al-Sayyed, who is considered the father of Egyptian Nationalism, was not far away from Islamic discussions about the Islamic league and took part in the dispute initiated by Cromer on whether Islam was for progress or not(12). Taha Husein and Al-Aqqad paved the way for modern criticism or internal apologetics. M. Husein Heikal was a politician and an Islamic writer, initiating with Taha Husein new biographies for the Prophet Mohammad (13). Dramatists like Tawfik Al-Hakim find in Islam some of their major themes like time, identity and value. Young writers, poets, or novelists find their way to modern creativity through traditional models (14).

Secularism initiated by Shebly Shmayyel, Farah Antoun, Nicola Hadded, Y'akub Sarruf in the last century and by Salama Mousa, Ismail Mazhar, Zaki Naguib Mohmoud and Fouad Zakaria this century, also had its connection with Islam, at least by reaction. Science, Nature, Reason, Progress, Freedom and Democracy are not concepts which originate only in the Western Enlightenment. They are also rooted in Arabic culture, via the Mutazilites, Averoes, Ibn Khaldoun, Ikhwan Al-Safa and even the poets like Al-Mi'arri (15).

Shmayyel was a friend of al-Afghani. Adib Ishaq was a disciple of al-Afghani, competing with the discipleship of M. Abdou. As a result of such efforts, the theory of evolution is now

(12) Ahmed Lutfi al-Sayyid. Safahat Matwiya (Folded pages), Maktabat al-Nahda al-Masriya (Cairo, 1946), pp.96-112.

(13) One example is M. H. Heikal, Hayat Muhammed (The Life of Muhammed), al-Abqariyyat of Al-aqqad,

(14) Ahl al-Kahf (The people of the cave); 'Usfur min al-Sharq (A bird from the East).

(15) See Ismail Mazhar's introduction, in Asl al-Anwa'(The origin of species).

discovered in the Qur'an. Secularism, Socialism, Rationalism, Scientism all of them were found in the Qur'an. Christian thinkers considered themselves culturally Muslims.

The main political parties in Egypt also had their connections with Islam. The National party founded by Mustapha Kamel saw Egypt still in connection with the Ottoman Empire. The liberal constitutionalist party had Heikal and Ali abd al-Razek also as eminent members. The Young Egypt party conceived Egypt as still connected with Turkey, the custodian of the Califate. Even some of the Egyptian Marxists had positive views on Islam and Progress, Islam and Nationalism like Abdallah Enan, Shuhdy Attiya end Anouar Abd al-Malek (16).

The Muslim Brothers, the largest Muslim group in Egypt in the 40s, shaped Egyptian political life and was at the very center of Egyptian political activism (17). Political Islam was always there, present in the core of Egyptian life, offering itself and sometimes imposing itself as a real alternative.

The homogeneity of the Egyptian people throughout history made them one people, free from ethnic or sectarian separatism. The unity of the people was as the image of the unity of God (18).

(16) Rifat al-Sa'id. Tarikh al-Haraka al-Ishtirakiyya fi Masr (History of the socialist movement in Egypt) (Cairo); also "Tarikh al-fikr al-Ishtiraki fi Masr", [History of Socialist Thought in Egypt) (Cairo).

(17) Tariq al-Bishry, Al-Haraka al-Siyasiyya fi Masr (Political Movement in Egypt) (Cairo: Egyptian Book Organization. 1973).

(18) Gamal Hamdan, Skakhsiyyat Masr [The character of Egypt] (Cairo: Dar al Hilal, 1967), pp.21-46. Also Samira Bahr, Al-Aqbat fi al-Hayat al-Siyasiya al-Masriyya (Copts in Egyptian political life) (Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop,1979).

The central place Egypt occupies between Africa and Asia made her the pivotal power in the Muslim World. The Islamic role Egypt played throughout history made Islamic movements always viable, numerous and multiplying. This is also the image of Egypt in the Muslim World, a center of learning, the place of al-Azhar, the source of Arabization, the Muslim World Bookshop, the country in which the Muslim Brothers took birth, the custodians of Islam.

III - Recent Past.

Before 1952, Liberalism as a political ideology, represented by the Wafd party, was in power. Muslim Brothers and communists were the most active opposition groups. In political jargon, the center was in power, the left and the right in opposition, a classical type in every stable State. Nasser, at the very center of the free officers movement, was in permanent contact with members of these three major political trends in Egypt. Liaison officers were Abu al-Makarem for the Brethren, Abu-Al-Fath for the Wafd and Khalid Muhyi Al-Din for the communists. Nasser knew Hassan Al-Banna. He was even at one time a member of the Young Egypt party founded by Ahmed Husein. The twelve free officers of the Revolutionary Command Council were divided between the three major trends: the Islamic like Kamal al-Din Husein, the Marxist like Khalid Muhyi Al-Din and the nationalist represented by Nasser himself and his group. Nasser refused to make his organization, before and after the revolution, an affiliated branch of the Brethren or of any other political party. He also refused any tutorship from the major political parties like the Wafd (19).

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(19) Ahmed Hamroush, Qissat Thawrat 23 Yulyu (The story of the 23rd of July Revolution) (Beirut: Arab Institute for Studies and Publication. 1977), pp.87-174.

The Muslim Brothers, as the major Muslim group in Egypt, began to rally all social classes. Since its birth in Ismailiya in the late 20's, it became actively present in Egyptian political life and reached the peak of its presence in the late 40's. Some of its members rallied to the Workers and Students Committee in 1947. In Palestine, they showed great bravery inspired by religious zeal, to the wonder of the official Egyptian Army. In 1951 the Brethren fought the British occupation in the Suez Canal zone, side by side with Marxist groups and free officers members like Kamal al-Din Husein and Kamal Rif'at. The Palace viewed the Brethren as one of its major enemies and the king instigated the assassination of their leader Hassan Al-Banna in February,1949. Even after the sweeping victory of the Wafd party in the national election of 1951, the Muslim Brothers continued to be a major force, especially in the universities among the students. They were able to win the election of the student Union by more than 95% of the votes. Their branches in the popular districts of Cairo and other major cities were full. Their cells, numerous and multiplying, were highly organized in a pyramidal order, from the top to the bottom. When Naguib from 1952-54 showed some Islamic fervor, whether by real option or by political maneuver, they rallied themselves behind him, antagonizing Nasser and his fellows. The Brethren knew about the revolution beforehand. They were assigned the task of safeguarding public buildings on the eve and after the revolution. One of the reasons for the revolution, given in the first declaration, was to reopen the files of Hassan Al-Banna's assassination. After the revolutionary decree dissolving all political parties, the Brethren were exempted on the ground of being a religious nonpolitical

group. At that time, in the heart of the masses, there was no difference between revolution and Islam. Earlier Urabi had jumped onto the national scene as a national hero who rallied the Army and the Ulemas behind him [20].

The Brethren's popularity, taken with a strong organization compared to the revolution's popularity and its lack of any popular organization, made the Brethren seemingly score a point. The first popular organization created by the revolution to fill the vacuum, the Liberation Rally, came into conflict with the Brethren when suspicions began to arise between the free officers and Brethren Leaders. The Brethren rejected participation in the government except on their own terms, namely, no decision can be taken without their consent. Nasser viewed this condition as tutorship imposed on the young revolution. The free officers wanted to stay independent from all political parties. They made the revolution and wanted to preserve it. Some leaders wanted to cooperate with the revolution and others who accepted the portfolios were dismissed from the group, like Sheikh Hassan al-Baquri. A secession occurred between the official leaders and a dissident group (Said Ramadan and Abd Al-Rahman Al-Banna). Disputes began. The social program of the revolution and above all, the first Agrarian Reform law was much ahead of present arrangements. The Wafd refused it and the Brethren rejected the maximum limit on land ownership decided by the revolution (200 feddans per person and 300 per family). The Brethren took the occasion of the

(20) The number of books on 'Urabi is tremendous. His major book, Kashf al-Asraran Sir al-Asrar (The Revealing of the Secrets), was published in 1954. Prefaced by Naguib.

evacuation treaty, negotiated between Nasser and the British in 1954, as a weak point in the military regime because it gave the British troops the right to come back to the Suez Canal area in case of war. The Brethren, feeling their strength, felt also that they were on the eve of victory in seizing power. A power-struggle began to emerge between them and the free officers, which culminated in the Manshiyya incident, Nasser's assassination trial. The struggle ended with complete destruction of the Brethren. The organization was dissolved and outlawed, its headquarters confiscated, six leaders hanged and thousands arrested and tortured.

Since that time, the Brethren became an underground movement, living in Egypt as a persecuted community. A “prison psyché” began to develop and to impose itself on their minds. Their deep motivation was hatred of reality, revenge against Nationalism, Arabism, Socialism, Secularism, and all that Nasser and the Ba’th party stood for. A desire to destroy everything and to build a new, a rejection of the other, a refusal of dialogue, a denial of all compromises. All this had culminated in Sayyed Qutb's “Signs on the Road (Ma’alim fi Al-Tariq). Accordingly, the vanguard, the elite, the new generation of the Prophet's companions are destined to change and to inherit the whole world. The actual world is a world of disbelief, a Jahiliyya world which has to be destroyed completely and totally, in order to build a new world of belief where everyone can live and practice his own faith(21). This division of the world into white and black, good and evil, right and wrong,

(٢١) Sayyed Qutb, Ma’alim fi al Tariq (Signs on the Road) (Cairo and Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq 1980), pp.14-23.

belief and disbelief, pure and impure made the Brethren mind highly Manichaean. They lived in permanent internal and external war, which ended in the destruction of the self. Sayyed Qutb paid his life for it in 1965, charged as being the leader of an underground and secret military organization having the task of overthrowing the legal authority in the State. Even the socialist trend in Qutb’s thought in the early 50’s, before the clash of the Brethren with the free officers, had disappeared. The themes of social justice in Islam, the battle between capitalism and Islam, world peace and Islam were dropped in the Brethren's thought and were carried on by the revolution in the 60's. The more open and wide conception of Islam, that of the founder, Hassan al-Banna, turned to a more closed and fanatic view of the World. The Brethren, being excluded from Egyptian political life, did not develop. They even regressed from their early stands. They did not participate in the implementation of their own ideals regarding socialism and non-alignment. They did not participate in the defense of the country during the Suez crisis, after the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956. They were not carried along by the wave of Arab nationalism, reaching its peak in 1958 after the Iraqi revolution and during the foundation of the United Arab Republic in 1958-61, the first unionist experience in modern Arab and Muslim history. They did not take any part in the socialist transformation of Egypt in 1961-64, the most glorious achievement of the revolution. On the contrary, they were helping the Saudis, for revenge, against Nasser and were supporting the Islamic pact proposed by the West in 1965 between Iran and Saudi Arabia, to surround Nasser and to stop the progressive revolution crystallized

in Arab nationalism. They did not participate in the anti-imperialist struggle which they themselves had initiated on the Suez Canal and in Palestine. The Afro-Asian movement and the non-alignment movement are two different political names referring to the Muslim World which the Brethren wanted to unify. The bitterness of their souls prevented them from seeing and thinking in a normal and sane way as long as the image of their martyrs was in their minds and the traces of torture were on their bodies. Islam in the heart of the Brethren waited another moment of explosion and revenge.

The defeat of 1967 was viewed by the Brethren as that divine revenge they had waited for a long time. The regime was shaken and the Brethren began to come to life again. Religion was used by the political powers for a certain kind of "moral rearmament". Defeat was seen as predestined. No precaution would have prevented it [22]. It came as a result of disbelief and the abandonment of God. Therefore, returning back to faith is the road to victory. Religious values like patience and perseverance were greatly appreciated and stressed in the mass media. Religiosity, naturally, appears in moments of crisis to console and to consolidate.

Egyptian Christianity was also in crisis. The Virgin Mary appeared in Zeitoun, above the Cathedral, carrying her son in her arms, weeping and hoping, while doves were flying above in the Divine light of the Aureole. The apparition, once it had moved the people on the streets of Cairo and fulfilled its goal of spiritual re-edification of the masses, re-appeared in another popular district,

(٢٢) Nasser's resignation speech in Khutab wa Ahadith wa Tasrihat [Speeches, interviews and declarations) (Al-Ahram 1970).

once in a silver plate in Bab Al-Sha'riya, and another time in a dark room of a poor man living in the cellar in Sayyeda Zeinab. God had not forgotten Egypt in its time of crisis [(23)].

The victory of 1973, in crossing the Suez Canal and obtaining quick results, was taken as a proof of the wonders of faith. The abandonment by God had brought defeat in 1967, and returning back to God brought victory in 1973. "God is Great" (Allah Akbar) was the cry of the soldiers crossing the Canal. The Angels crossed and fought with them. The prophet in person, dressed in green, having a banner in his hand, like a Sufi Master, also crossed. Those were the themes of preaching. The purification of the national soul from shame and dishonor took a religious shape, since religion was the main stream in the mass culture. The October War for the masses and even for the ruling elite had a religious significance. It is called the Ramadan War. God gave victory in the month of Fasting as he did in Badr, the first Muslim battle.

IV - Present Time.

After Nasser's death on September 30, 1970, the new regime needed a legalizing device. Religion was the easiest way to achieve this purpose. The masses are religious with a superficial political consciousness that can be played upon. The process of Denasserization needed an ideological justification as well as practical measures. Nasser is still alive in the heart of the masses. He meant national pride and dignity, food subsidies, workers rights, agrarian reform, free education. Therefore, to solidify the new regime, Nasserites as the major opposition force were discredited in the

(٢٣) Sadiq Jalal al'Azm: Naqd al-Fikr al-Dini (Critique of Religious Thought) (Beirut. 1967).

eyes of the masses as Marxists, atheists and agents of the Soviet Union! They do not believe in God, they do not practice religion and they are alien to their own society, uprooted from its traditional values. In this atmosphere, the Muslim Brothers, although still outlawed, began to reappear. The ruling elite took advantage and used them to purge the campuses from the last Nasserite student waves. As a reward, the regime released the last of the Brethren prisoners. The new regime, feeling itself in a vacuum and without a popular base, tolerated the Brethren's new activities, under a new form of the Islamic Group, al-Jama'a Islamiyya, to fill the vacuum. The ruling elite and the Islamic groups shared common interests: antagonism to Nasserism, Marxism, Socialism and later on, Arab nationalism. Each was thinking that he was using the other to implement his own policies. A gentlemen's agreement based on a tacit consent and managed by some historic figures of the Brethren and State security high officials made each side stay within its assigned limits. For the Brethren, preaching, publications, prayers, dresses, pilgrimage trips, book fairs, and religious festivals. In the absence of any political activism from the side of Islamic groups, the State will leave them in peace, freeing their last prisoners. In moments of crisis, when the groups exceeded the terms of the agreement via religious sectarianism, criticism of Camp David agreements, campus demonstrations for student union elections or against the Shah's visit to Egypt, then the State threatened suspension of the Review al Da'awa, banning the group's activities, the end of the tacit agreement and with it, a return to the Nasserist Era! The Brethren after all are still outlawed. The sword of illegality is always lifted up against them.

Religion has been used by the ruling elite as a means for social control. Religious slogans, measures and practices give the appearance of an "Islamic Alternative" in Egypt. These symptoms are seen by Western mass media as components of an Islamic Revivalism, or Islamic Awakening, or Islamic Resurgence. These appearances cannot be understood outside of their social setting and function. Some of them are:

1- The title was given to the President as the “believing President.” He is always called by his first name “Mohammad”. He is shown in the mass-media in his white Jallabiya, going to the Mosque or coming out of it, having a rosary in one hand and Moses’s stick in the other, with a prayer mark on his forehead. All these features depict him as a Patriarch. He murmurs in praying, with his lips moving, closes his eyes and shows signs of fear, humility and devotion. He begins his speeches by "In the name of God" and ends them by Qur'anic verses signifying modesty and asking for forgiveness. He calls the soldiers "my sons" and the news reporter "my daughter" and even the opposition press "my free press." He retires at the last ten days of Ramadan at the feet of Mount Sinai where he will build a compendium of houses of worship, a temple, a church and a mosque as a sign of love and brotherhood.

2- The rest of the ruling elite imitates the President. They are also shown in and out of mosques. They contribute to the construction of the mosque and declare it publicly in days of election. They exchange with each other, as well as with the President, the Qur'an as a gift-souvenir, well decorated, in red velvet (and never opened). They compete in these appearances in

order to have more credit in the eyes of the masses and to be more trustworthy in the eyes of superiors. When one of them decides to write his memoirs to make a self portrait, he describes himself as a strong believer from his early childhood, having a strong faith in God, accepting his Will without any objections and resigning to his Imperatives without questioning. The whole State apparatus engaged ttself in such religious appearances like: "In the name of God" on the top of all State official letters, small prayer rooms in every department even if it were beside the bathrooms, or in the corridors or at the front doors.

3- Religion as the official religion of the State is always called to be a permanent article in the Egyptian constitution. A formal fight on the issue usually ends in absolute unanimity on the article in any new draft, a battle usually won from the beginning. It usually becomes an occasion to outbid and to show more religious zeal for more social promotion. It also gives the ruling elite a legalizing device through Islam as a legal system, which the masses do not question. Sometimes, the article is used to take certain oppressive measures, under the pretext of defending Islam against political opposition and all those who are active in promoting the process of social change. The article, indeed, is a pure form without any content. Once the article is stipulated, passions calm down as if the Islamic State has already been built. Sometimes, it serves as a cover-up for an anti-Islamic State, given the actual situation based on minority rule, on the poor majority, on dictatorship and on all forms of despotism, on the recognition of the Zionist State, on isolationism without Arab nationalism and on a pro-Western alliance.

4- The application of Islamic law became a familiar slogan used by all parties, including the ruling elite, to outbid the Islamic groups; and by the Islamic groups to discredit all human political systems; and maybe also by the masses which see in the law a means for salvation. The ruling elite understands that the slogan justifies some repressive measures against political opposition as defending socialism. The law is a system of check and control. It means essentially the penal code used as punishment for all those who disobey and as disuasion for all those who even think of disobeying. Discussions were held in the People's Assembly to promulgate laws against alcoholics (prohibited only for Egyptians and permitted for Arab and foreign tourists), against the revocation of faith “ridda” and against atheism. Discussions were also held to ban the books of Ibn 'Arabi, the great mystic who died seven centuries ago. The purpose was not Ibn 'Arabi but to discredit all voices of dissent coming from living persons and to impose censorship on books disturbing public order. Thus the application of Islamic law meant also to obstruct the process of social change. Islamic law is understood as a free economic system, based on private ownership and competition. Its main income derives from free trade. Islam is for the private sector and against nationalization. Islam is for a class society which expresses the differences of created aptitudes and dispositions. The slogan satisfies also the psyché of the middle class, eager for law and order to protect its social and political gains against any social troubles, when the silent majority moves. It appeals finally to the masses, satisfying their religious feelings, absorbing their social anger and promising them a more hopeful future.

5- "Science and Faith," as a slogan also carried out by the State, even became a label for an entire political and social option. Science meant Western alliance since the West is the producer of science and those outside are its consumers. It meant that the relation between the Western world and the non-Western world will always be a relation of a master and disciple. Science will always be the future acquisition of underdeveloped societies. Faith comes from the tradition and the tradition comes from the past. Between science of the future and faith from the past, the present is completely forgotten. It is reduced to zero. But the slogan helps in creating in the national character a juxtaposition of science and faith. Both are imported from outside to annihilate forever the unity of national character and to obstruct endogenous creativity. Faith is exempted from criticism and has nothing to do with science. Science is transmitted from outside without a scientific outlook of the universe by indigenous minds. The medieval position is carried on. Science does not interfere in faith, nor faith in science. The scholars are doomed to carry on as "Docta Ignonantia".

6- Religion became a compulsory subject matter in schools with a pass/fail exam. Religious education is an integral part of national education. However, the marks given to the students are not added to the whole mark and do not affect the general promotion. But the issue became more serious by requiring religion as a subject matter in university curriculum! The youth have to be religiously educated to protect themselves against "imported" ideas, namely socialism and Marxist atheism. At the same time, the call was made for the establishment of a private university where foreign languages and business and administration are taught to

form new graduates capable of meeting the needs of foreign banks and companies established under the new investment law. Religious education does not address issues like emptying national education and destroying national universities.

7- Ritualism or the Saudi Islam became a salient phenomenon in Egyptian daily life, supported by the ruling elite, defended by the Islamic groups and practiced by the masses. It is used by the ruling elite as a cover-up, a religious surface on an irreligious, social, economic and political situation. In the eyes of every one, religion is well established and protected. Therefore political opposition which is usually non-ritualistic can be easily disregarded in front of the masses. Islamic groups concentrate most of their efforts also on ritualism as poles of attraction for the masses to become members of the groups. It plays the role of a public relations campaign. For females it may also play the role of an exceptional make-up to attract males and to give them proofs of virtue, chastity and good morals. The masses find ritualism the easiest means through which they can express their religious zeal and traditional faith. Once political consciousness is absent or falsified, religious ritualism can be a real substitute. Ritualism may give all social groups and classes a strong sense of identity, the affirmation of the self against the alienation in the other.

8- Traditional "spiritual" values are propagated as absolute values against new "material" ones: authenticity (Asala), robustness (Salaba), truthfulness, and loyalty. They are injected through the mass media to reeducate the masses or more precisely to reaffirm their traditional education received from the past. Authenticity is

used against modernity, the old vs the new. Robustness or Solidity are used against social change and popular uprising. Patience means the continuation and the acceptance of peoples' suffering and waiting for messianic salvation. Truthfulness or loyalty means also the continuation of the past against the novelty of the present. The morals of the village are highly valued: politeness, respect of parents, obedience to superiors, acceptance of law and order, love and brotherhood, against the opposite values like rejection, revolt, opposition, denial, negation, uprising change, values which are imported from outside and promoted by political opposition. A new law has been promulgated after a referendum, called a law of shame, Qanun el-Eib, to put on trial all those who reject, in theory or in practice, traditional values, and having in mind political opposition.

9- Construction of mosques is multiplied in every corner and in every small street. It does not matter if there are beside these new beautiful and well-decorated mosques the huts of the poor, sewage flooding, garbage and dirt. Memorials of the saints, their birthdays and their death are widely celebrated. Prayers called from the top of the minarets through loudspeakers, prayers, broadcasting in radio and television, prayers time tables announcements in the daily press, etc, all these "religious" phenomena do not touch the social system of the country. Therefore they can multiply ad infinitum. They are used as ingredients for an opium of the people.

10- Publication of the “legacy of the past," traditional works of Hadith. Sunnah, Tafsir, history, law, jurisprudence, made easy by modern means of printing and producing indicates a strong desire for the research of the self. Religious books in all book fairs are

bestsellers. Religious reviews like al-Da'wa, al-I'tisam, al-Mukhtar al-Islami are weekly, fortnightly, or monthly events, commented and seen as signs for the fluctuations in Islamic movements. Islamic publishers are multiplying and prospering. Books on mysticisin, on eschatology and on the "Unseen World" are numerous, appealing and well publicized. Islamic book fairs are everywhere. Islamic sections occupy large spaces in all bookshops. The ruling elite is satisfied with this plunging in the past and encourages through the mass media all irrational sources of knowledge and actions. News come on the first pages of the daily press, about the gifts of Laylat al-Qadr(The night of Divine Grace) satisfying the needs of the poor and saving the lives of the wretched of the earth.

11- Muslim preachers become like movie stars. The preachings of Sheikh Metwalli Sharawi, the most visible TV figure are real movie scenes. His eyes open and close, his brows lift up and lower down, his shoulders narrow and widen, his head back and forth, his body swings right and left, in front of millions of TV viewers. He is widely used by the ruling elite to persuade the masses in favor of public policies of the State. The price increases which caused the January 18 and 19, 1977 uprising were justified by the preacher on the night of curfew as bitter medicine necessary for curing the sick economy! The unseen world is always described, the seen world is completely forgotten. L'esprit de finesse in the Qur'an is analyzed and highly valued, but the madness of the life of the poor is set aside. Sheikh Kishk, another mosque preacher, has become a phenomenon in Cairo. His preachings on Fridays are taped on thousands of cassettes combining religion, social criticism, sexual allusions and making ironies on the ruling elite. Mustapha

Mahmud, a medical doctor who began, as he says, as an atheist humanist and ended as a strong believer in God and in an integral faith, made a good fortune from reconciling science and faith. Belly dancing and religious preaching concur with each other on TV channels in parallel and equitable ways.

12- The call for the foundation of a new Arab and Islamic people's league is another manifestation of an Islamic mood, at least in appearance. The decision to republish al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa of Al-Afghani on the occasion of its centenary makes Egypt once again the unifying center of the Muslim World. This call indeed aimed at breaking the circle around Egypt and to find a new alliance in the Muslim countries which compensates Egypt's losses in the Arab World after the Camp David agreements. As a substitute for the Arab league and in the same building, Egypt wanted to fill a vacuum it deeply feels. Egypt as a center cannot live without the three famous circles Nasser described in his “Philosophy of Revolution.” (24)

13- This religious euphony was the reason for recent sectarianism. Egypt never knew in all its history what is known in the West as religious wars. Egypt was able to unify all religions in one popular religion, that of Egypt. In moments of national crisis for a high cause like the Crusades, the revolution of 1919, the socialist construction of Egypt in 1961-64 no traces of sectarianism were to be found. Only when the State is weak, when a national cause to which every citizen is loyal is absent, when religious formalism serves as a cover-up for social and political crisis, only

(٢٤) Nasser, Falsafat al-Thawra [Philosophy of the Revolution] (Information Organization, 1954).

then sectarianism appears. The ruling elite takes advantage and uses it to strengthen its hold on the people by decreasing new repressive measures under the pretext of protecting national unity. Islamic zeal and Christian fervor reinforce each other as external causes. The political conscious-ness in both communities is thereby falsified.

V - Contemporary Thrusts

To what extent are these appearances of an Islamic alternative in Egypt symptoms for a deeper and more real historical movement? Would these phenomena reveal a real Islamic option, not only in Egypt but also in other States of the Muslim World as well?

The answer is yes. However, these external appearances are not the real phenomena, but symptoms. There are other deeper indicators showing that an Islamic alternative is a real one, if not in the present or even in the foreseeable future, but in the more remote future. The ruling elite now is frightened by this remote possibility of a Khomeini-type Islamic revolution and helping to generate these pseudo-appearances which serve as safety valves once deep Islamic pressures and motivation become threatening. The ruling elite is investing in, and banking on, this historical mood of conservatism in mass-consciousness, trying to postpone the real Islamic alternative as far as it can, hoping to overturn a normal course of history by dissipating it into external appearances, away from social reality. Some of these deep indications may be observed in the end of the liberal age, begining in the last century, and the collapse of the three major trends in recent history: reformism, liberalism and secularism [25].

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(٢٥) A. Hourani. Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age (Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1970).

(a) Collapse of Reformism, Liberalism and Secularism

Reformism began very progressively, as it appeared in al-Afghani, Islam vs imperialism, Feudalism, Despotism, Islam for Reason, Science, Industry, Progress, Freedom, Socialism and Democracy. Al-Afghani succeeded in awakening the whole Muslim World by generating national political parties and independent liberation movements. Al-Kawakibi tackled two major contradictory issues: the indifference of the masses, mobilizing the Arab and Muslim World; and despotism, calling for freedom for all the Muslims. M. Abdou called for new methods of teachings based on understanding not memorizing. Even R. Reda in the Manar commentary had a social goal in criticizing Muslim societies. But in the following generations, reformism faded and has been cut to the half by M. Abdou, calling for evolution, not revolution, giving priority to education not to social and political change, beginning with the individual not with society, by reforming the language, and by leaving aside political authority in the reform of institutions. He participated in the Urabi revolution at the instigation of his Master al-Afghani and ended by repenting, asking forgiveness and calling for the separation between religion and politics! Pan-Islamism took a low profile for the benefit of Egyptianism. Reformism has been cut to another half by R. Reda and has been transformed to a Salafiyya movement calling for "retour aux sources", the Qur'an and the Hadith. His major effort was to reinterpret the Qur'an according to new circumstances of the time, to purify religion from new “inventions”(Bid’a), to defend Islam against his critics and to reject all kinds of secular reformism in the young Turks's style. Hassan al-Banna was a disciple of R. Reda in Dar al-Ulum and

wanted to continue publishing al Manar in 1936, after being stopped. The Brethren after his death, and due to the psyche of prison and theology of persecution, became integrists. Although they were at their peak of political activism in the 40's, their power struggle with Nasser put an end to their activities. Positive aspects of the reformist movement disappeared, like reason, science, progress, freedom, democracy, and socialism. However, the negative aspects continued on like antimaterialism. Even these positive aspects have been reversed to the opposite. Thus religious thought nowadays has became irrational, non-scientific, backward, authoritrian, feudalist and capitlist. The curve of reformism declined almost as soon as it began.

Liberalism founded by al-Tahtawi was the base of the modern Egyptian Sate. Manahig al-Albab is no less important for the Egyptian State than is Hegel's “Philosophy of Right” for the German State. The Ideals of the French revolution, liberté, égalité, fraternité were rooted in Islamic origins. Loyalty to the “partri” is a form of expression of faith. Lutfi at-Sayyed, Taha Husein, al Aqqad, Kasem Amin, Sa'ad Zaghlul were major thinkers of Egyptian Nationalism. All of them worked for the nation. This trend also declined in this century. “Liberté, égalité, fraternité” turned into despotism, class society and civil wars between enemy brothers. The modern liberal State switched to a military State. The separation of powers ended in the confusion of powers under the hand of the executive. The loyalty to the nation became an alliance of the nation to superpowers and disloyalty of the intellectuals to the national cause. Taha Husein is disregarded. His files are reopened. His book on Arab poetry is blacklisted and a call made

by members of the Islamic Research Council to excommunicate him as an atheist! (26). Khalid Mohamad Khaled who began like Ali abd al-Razek, a champion of secularism repented lately from this unforgivable sin and is defending now the unity of religion and State. The call of Kasem Amin for Women's liberation ended in a wide spread practice of the veil. The curve of liberalism also declined as soon as it rose.

Secularism was defended by Sh. Shmayyel, F. Antun, Salama Mousa, Ismail Mazhar, Zaki Naguib Mahmoud. They began very intransigent, defending reason, science, progress, nation, freedom, democracy, and socialism. But it has ended now as just the opposite. Science switched to faith, reason became inspiration, progress collapsed into reaction, freedom and democracy were eclipsed by despotism and dictatorship. Ismail Mazhar, the champion of the theory of evolution (Darwin, Buchner and Haeckel) fell back at the end of his life into religious radical and integral Islam, which does not admit any compromise. Zaki Naguib Mahmoud who began his life as an apostle of logical positivism and science ended now by pure dualism, considering faith as a private emotional relation between man and God, which has nothing to do with reason or science. He had begun to look for roots in the tradition of positive science in order to be authentic, not alien. Mustapha Mahmoud left medicine for religion, abandoned man for God and denied science for the sake of faith. A sweeping religious zeal is carrying away scientists, doctors, physicists, biologists, chemists, geologists and

(٢٦) Hassan Hanafi, The Origin of Modern Conservatism and Islamic Fundamentalism in Egypt (Amsterdam, November, 1979).

also artists, writers and mathematicians. Secularism disappeared and now no writer dares to call for the separation between religion and State. What has been won during the last century has been lost very quickly this century. The curve of secularism also began high but quickly, even in one lifetime, crashed.

(b) Failure of Secular Ideologies

The second major pattern is the failure of the secular ideologies of modernization, liberalism, Arab Nationalism or Socialism, and Marxism.

Liberalism was not only an "ideological" trend but also a political system which Egypt adopted till the eve of the revolution in 1952. It had some successes: freedom of expression, political opposition, nationalism, anti-imperialism, unity of the Valley of the Nile. But its misfortunes were also visible: paid education for the elite, with illiteracy for the masses, feudalism of the landlords, capitalism of the Pashas, the King's interference in politics, supported by foreign occupation, corruption of political parties, weakness of the army and its defeat in Palestine in 1948-49, oppression of the opposition groups. The revolution put an end to the liberal regime in 1952 and always labelled it as the “past regime”.

The revolution delivered many gains: the end of British occupation, nationalization of the Suez Canal, the formation of a strong army, Arab Nationalism and liberation movement, the Afro-Asian movement, anti-imperialism and the anti-Zionist struggle, socialism, non-alignment, the Third World movement. However, its losses were also tremendous: struggle against the Brethren and execution of their prominent leaders like Ouda and Qutb,

suppression of freedom, oppression of the opposition, right as well as left, torture of political prisoners, the police system, press monopoly, unilateralism of the one party-system, the formation of a new class which inherited the privileges of the feudalist class of the old regime, the defeat of 1967, the absence of a popular political organization to defend the revolution. Despite the self-critique of the March 30 1968 declaration, these losses continued to take their toll. The death of Nasser put an end to the whole socialist and Arab Nationalist experience. After the liquidation of the Nasserists and the beginning of the process of Denasserization Egypt is returning back to the old regime where liberalism ruled, but with one diminished feature, that is, loyalty to the country.

Although Marxism did not rule in Egypt, as it did in the case of the Democratic Yemen, or even enter into a coalition as it did in the case of Iraq and Syria, it was one of the forming trends in Egyptian political life before and after the revolution . Although the Marxists participated effectively in the anti-Imperialist struggle and fought political oppression before the revolution they failed to form a main stream in Egyptian political life. Marxists were isolated circles of intellectuals and artists without any popular constituency except a small fragment in the working class. Their ideology, difficult to understand and uprooted from the mass-culture, was carried out by nineteen century classical Marxists without any adaptation to local circumstances of the country. Their alliance with the Soviet Union and the International Communist movement made them look alien to their countrymen. Their internal divisions, the absence of local studies on the social, political and economic situation in Egypt, the foundation of some early communist circles

by foreigners or Zionist Jews made them seem a part of the Western intelligentsia. After the revolution and in spite of their persecution in 1954 and 1959, they supported Nasser literally without any criticism. They were happy with their relative gains in the press and in the State apparatus. After Nasser's death, they began to leave the country, forming huge colonies of opposition groups in Bagdad, Tripoli, London or Paris, and supported by anti-Egyptian Arab regimes. They had no roots in the people's tradition with the exception of a few intellectuals and writers.

Once the failure of secular ideologies of modernization is felt, nothing is left for the masses except religious conservation as a historical continuum in their hearts. Once the exogenous fails the endogenous comes in. The only organizational form expressing this deep-rooted traditional stream is still the Islamic groups under the classical name of the Brethren. Historically, these had a great impact on Egyptian political life. They were present on the political scene in Egypt in the last fifty years, overground or underground, legal or illegal. Their participation in the struggle in Palestine against Zionism, against British troops in the Suez Canal and against the palace and political parties corruption before the revolution, made them eligible for power in the eyes of the masses. Their opposition to the Anglo-Egyptian evacuation treaty in 1954, which gave the right to British troops to return to Egypt and to use the Suez Canal area in time of war made them the custodians of Egyptian nationalism. The torture they were subjected to made them popular and rallied around them mass-sympathy. The moral integrity of their members made them trustworthy, in the midst of corruption as a common practice, as a common source of income. They were never in power.

However, nobody would to reject a call to 1slam. The masses may have had enough of being a permanent field of experimentation for all ideologies except their own, namely Islam.

The rediscovery of Islam may have occurred among certain committed intellectuals who also tried secular ideologies of modernization and felt their limitations. Their anger against stereotyped images of Islam and the Muslims, their past, their present and even their future, extended to Western culture. Orientalism as well as anthropology may have pushed them towards the self in a defensive mechanism against the other. In Egypt until then, a crisis of identity had never been experienced. Weternization did not have the strong impact as it had in the case of Iran before the revolution. However, a certain kind of superiority complex vis-à-vis the West had developed. Islam, the religion most attacked by Western scholars, would be the best tool to reverse the complex of inferiority to a complex of superiority. Islam would give the whole culture a sense of dignity.

The rediscovery of endogenous powers of the masses. After the victory of the Iranian Revolution may have given the masses some self-confidence. The Iranians led the revolution under the banner of Islam, having the masses behind them. In spite of the deformation of the image of the Iranian Revolution in the mass media, its impact on a possible Islamic alternative in Egypt makes sense. In the short run, because of the dominant religious conservatism as a historical mood, Islamic groups may be the victim of dogmatism and historical confessionalism. But the masses, once they discover more and more their endogenous powers, having Islam in their hearts, and

enlightened leadership on the top, now and then, can make the Islamic alternative become a real option.

VI - Prospects for the Future.

What about the near future? Is an Islamic alternative a possibility in the near future ?

There are six possibilities for Egypt in the near future. Putting them in a gradual order from the remote possibility to the most likely, they are:

First, liberalism, a political ideology which ruled Egypt before the revolution of 1952 and was the carrier of Egyptian traditional patriotism. The masses, sometimes rightly or wrongly, compare their lives before and after the revolution and express a certain kind of nostalgia for the past. Intellectuals eager for freedom would consider the revolutionary era as something abnormal in the history of the country. But who is eligible to rule in the name of such new liberalism? Only the Wafd party is on the scene. It has been reformed in the New Wafd with the same historical figures as before the revolution! At the head was the former Pasha Fou'ad Sarag al-Din. All the revolutionary gains would have to be disregarded. The historical figures of the Wafd did not have the same charisma as Nasser. The Wafd did not develop from its early stands. The left wing of the party al-Tali' al-Wafdiya has disappeared with the death of its leaders. The constituency of the Wafd remained the traditional Wafd people. The memory of the past, the landlords, the Pashas, the corruption, was still alive in the hearts of the masses. In the first clash with the political authority on the question of leadership, the party decided to dissolve itself and relinquish political activity. The

personality cult was still at the heart! If history does not go backwards, the possibility of a Wafd rule is very remote although liberalism may remain an intellectual demand.

Second, Marxism as an active ideology in Egypt since the early years of this century and has not disappeared. Every couple of months a Marxist underground movement, so to speak, is discovered by the State security agencies. In spite of the economic crisis, the class structure of society, and the oppression which make Egypt fertile for a Marxist ideology, Marxism does not have a chance to rule in Egypt in the foreseeable future. It is still an isolated ideology, limited to the intellectual and artistic circles, not within mass-culture. It is uprooted from the main stream of the mass-culture, namely religious tradition. It would be difficult for the masses to understand the laws of dialectics and to grasp the negation and the negation of negation. It is very hard also to make a breakthrough to rectify the stereotyped images in the mass-media about Marxism and Marxists. Their westernized language made them aliens in society. They may well crystallize the political consciousness of the masses by working with workers and students. They can be a model of political activism and complete devotion. But their martyrs, except Shuhdi Atiya, are not popular martyrs like those of the Brethren. They still have a long way to go. Being cornered by the past they would like to be liberated from, they would like to plunge into the future, but they forget the present, the historical phase in which they actually live, the passage from tradition to modernism. They would like to leapfrog the phases. The desire for progress makes them forget history. Marxism may be the option of new generations which are not yet born. Even national Marxism, as a transitory step, would presently yield to Islamic revivalism.

Third, the continuation of the status quo, the revolution of July 1952, put upside down, devouring its own principles, from national dignity to national humiliation, from independence to dependence, from anti-imperialism to pro-imperialism, from non-alignment to alignment, from anti-Zionism to recognition of Zionism, from public sector to private sector, from socialism to capitalism, from nationalism to Egyptian isolationism. The poor are getting poorer and the rich richer. Corruption is wide spread and becoming a large source of income. The ruling elite became a model of corruption and hypocrisy. It is detested, unpopular and living in a very high style. The old elites, hit by the revolution of 1952, appeared again, participating actively in the new foreign companies. Disloyalty to the country and loyalty to capital has put economic power in Egypt in the service of international capital. In a society of consumption, importing consumer goods, a simple Egyptian with limited income cannot live. Egyptians have become foreigners in their own country. The nefarious aspects of the open-door policy appear more and more. The food crisis and prices increase, and both are out of control. The life of the big cities, namely Cairo is a real hardship. A change in policies but not necessarily in authority is largely expected. Peace did not bring prosperity. Peace with Israel, which was the mood after the 1977 peace initiative, is very suspicious and humiliating. The Arab boycott of Egypt was deeply felt. A radical change and even a mutation in Egyptian political life is waited for. Citizens cannot live for a long time on the margin of national life.

Fourth, Islamic groups are present on the Egyptian scene. Their name is always mentioned as synonymous to an Islamic alternative.

Indeed, Islamic groups ferment a campus phenomenon. They are present on the campus because no other groups are permitted to act. Their presence is due to the absence of others. Once the student has graduated he forms an isolated phenomenon at his work. The rest of the employees are under the pressure of their daily occupations. They look more powerful than they are in reality. Their voice is loudly heard but they have no impact on the masses in the streets. They are unable to run a State or to seize power. Their slogans are void of social content, like "sovereignty to God". The question is: Sovereignty to God for whom? for the rich or for the poor ? for the oppressor or for the oppressed? Slogans do not make ideologies. The Iranian revolution may be in the same impasse. The Imams have the power and they do not know what to do with it. Islamic groups are still dominated by the psyché of prison. Emotionalism surpasses rationalism. Fanaticism prevents any open dialogue with other political groups. They are still the victim of the dialectic between all or nothing, a sign of integrism. They confine themselves till now to pure ritualism, without entering into the socio-political drama of the country. They think they are preparing themselves for a future battle and in fact the masses are switching to the left from underneath. Loyalty for them is not for the country but for a void and formal principle embodied in reality in the Saudi and Gulf regimes. By their caution and precaution, they are postponing their real struggle. Maybe they have learned the lesson from the past, not to precipitate or to anticipate. However, reality is moving on, imposing its own forms [27].

Fifth, popular Nasserism is the most likely option in the foreseeable future. After the process of Denasserization during the

(٢٧) The call for Husayn's excommunication was made by Anouar al-Gindi, among others.

past ten years, the masses have begun to rediscover Nasser. Nasser is still alive in their hearts. His name is linked to national dignity, food subsidies, agrarian reform, nationalization, socialism, and Arab nationalism. They did not have freedom before that anyhow. But a loss with many gains is much better than several losses without any gains. Nasser ruled the streets of Cairo during the January 18-19 uprising 1977. Millions were crying, pronouncing the ideals Nasser stood for. Arab nationalism has deepened. The Palestinian issue becomes a more and more a popular one. The low prices in Nasser's era make the masses dream of a return. The tradition of the free officers has not died out. Urabi is still alive, Joan of Arc of the Egyptians.

Even the intellectuals, who suffered greatly under Nasser, are now without a cause. They are brain drained to the Western market or to the oil producing countries market, selling their expertise and profession. There is nothing to be committed to. Nasser had a national project, which gave the masses their sense of identity and vocation. Now, the occultation of Egypt has dismembered it via all that encircles it. The actual political opposition in all its segments is unified around Nasserism. The rejection of the peace treaty with Israel, the rejection of American bases in Egypt, the criticism of the open-door policy, the defence of the public sector, of free education, and of food subsidies, all are components of Nasserism. This time, it will be a popular revolution, defended by the masses themselves, not through bureaucrats and State officials.

Sixth, an Islamic left is not a real alternative in Egypt as an organized political power. It has neither constituency nor ideology

nor even leadership, but serves as a mere hypothesis for the combination of Islam and the Nasserist national project. Islam is the heart of the masses and Nasserism is their need. Islam without Nasserism would fall into formalism as in the case of Islarmic groups. Nasserism without Islam will fall into secularism and will always be threatened by an Islamic movement. Islam is capable of serving as an umbrella for all political trends in the country: Liberation, Marxism and Arab nationalism. The Iranian revolution attempted this and succeeded. The question is not would a Khomeini type Islamic revolution succeed in Egypt? Revolutions are not copied. Each revolution has its own circumstance and its own internal logic. But in a remote future, when conservation as a historical mood has paved the way to progressivism and the spirit of the time, now and then Islam can be carried on as progress. All other alternatives may happen for a short time and then the next alternative comes. Egypt without this last alternative, the Islamic left, will continue its experiences of trial and error. In one lifetime an Egyptian of less than 50 years old has seen liberalism, Arab nationalism and the open-door policy. He may see other alternatives. The Islamic left, when it comes, can be the most durable alternative. The masses can find in it their needs and their heart, their body and their soul. It is good to begin an idea in the mind of a visionary and it is history which tells whether ideas are the beginning of movement in history [28].

(٢٨) Annouar Abd al-Malek, "Ihtigab Masr" (The Occultation of Egypt), Al-Mustaqbal al-Arabi, August, 1980.

ON COERCION: The Origin of Violence in Contemporary Islam

1 - Introduction: Perception of Reality and Frankness of Expression

Islam as a living experience can be understood by indigenous scholars feeling the beating hearts of the masses, understanding the essence of Islam and foreseeing the laws of history. Living with the people, suffering with them and feeling their anxieties and expectations are prerequisites for sound scholarship orienting itself to the heart of things. A primary sympathy with the studied phenomenon, without projecting on it a priori judgments, would help in analyzing its components, tracing its origins, knowing its reasons and describing its solutions. Chanting Islamic tolerance and preaching peace is an idealistic vision based on selective Qur'anic texts. But it is not anchored in reality, that is, not beginning with factual givens which are indeed the substratum of the texts themselves and known as Asbab Al-Nuzul [*].

Condemning violence as practiced by Islamic groups is also playing the role of the State and taking sides in the power struggle between the ruling elite and the Islamic groups, in favour of the State [1]. Analyzing realities, describing things as they are, feeling street dynamics and digging deeply in the soul of the masses,

(*) Peace and Global Tranformation, Bali. Indonesia, 14-19 March, 1986.

(١) This may appear innocently in many titles combining Islam with non-violence rather than Islam with violence, giving the impression that Islam is a priori for violence against non-violence.

sharing their experiences and following their motivations in complete neutrality and disinterest in power, all this may help in understanding the phenomenon of violence in the contemporary Muslim world.

Coercion (Ikrah), which means also compulsion or constraint, is a Qur'anic term mentioned seven times, five as verb and twice as noun. Coercion always comes from an outside force against the will of the individual and his free choice. The Pharaoh coerced the minority, believing in God, to abandon their faith and to believe in magic (2). This is political coercion of the people to adopt the State's ideology, as if fathers would coerce their daughters to prostitution against their own will to be chaste and pure (3). This is social coercion to obey undesired orders against a moral standard and free will. Even a prophet, in his religious zeal may coerce the people to believe in God without internal conviction and free choice. This is religious coercion (4). However, the final Divine Command is "No coercion in religion" since the right path is distinct from the wrong path and man can choose freely between them. Coercive acts are null and void. They are not liable to any legal suits. Since they are

(٢)"We believe in our Lord, that he may pardon our offenses and the sorcery that hast constrained us to practice. God is better and more abiding" (20:73) (A.Arberry: The Qur'an Interpreted).

(٣) "And constrain not your slave girls to prostitution, if they desire to live in chastity; but you may feel the chance goods for the present life. Whosoever constrains them, surely, God, after they being constrained, is All-forgiver. All-compassionate" (24:33).

(٤) "No compulsion in religion, rectitude has become clear from error. So whosoever disbelieves in idols and believes in God has laid hold of the most firm handle, unbreaking. God is All-Caring, All-Knowing" (2:256); "Wouldst thou then constrain the people and until they are believers" (99:10).

forced acts against one's free will, man is not accountable for them[5]. Coercion creates duality in human personality since external acts follow the imposed rules while internal acts find their own way of expression in underground movements. Hence, a silent power-struggle begins between these underground movements and those coercive powers. Sometimes coercive powers succeed in dismantling the secret movements, and sometimes the secret movements succeed in blowing up coercive powers.

2 - Islamic Revivalism as Law of History

Islam is not only a religion but also a culture. A culture is not a static intellectual production, but a dynamic creativity in history. Cultures take birth, develop and fall. In a second cycle, a living culture takes a second rebirth, develops again and also falls. This is what philosophers of history called "The law of Ricorsi, the law of recurrence." The second cycle does not begin from zero but from an already accumulated experience in the first cycle. Since a living culture is a tradition in history, the second Renaissance becomes more powerful as a mass movement before being reproduced in new cultural sciences.

Islam, now in the beginning of its 15th century, has 14 centuries of history behind it. The first cultural cycle occurred in the first seven centuries. It began in the second and third centuries, reached its peak in the fourth, the golden age of classical culture

(٥) "Whosoever disbelieves in God after he has believed, excepting him who has been compelled, and his heart is still at rest in his belief but whosoever's blessed is expanded in unbelief, upon them shall rest angers from God, and there await them a mighty chastisement" (16:106).

and declined in the sixth and seventh. It was not by chance that Ibn Khaldun appeared in the eighth to describe the birth and the decline of Arab Islamic culture in its first cycle. In the second seven centuries, from the seventh to the fourteenth, Islamic Culture continued conserving itself, memorizing its production and commenting on its own works. Creativity stopped, huge encyclopedias were written and the nostalgia of the past became more and more vivid.

In the last two hundred years, a reformist movement began to initiate a second Islamic Renaissance similar to the first one. The descending curve began to climb up again, announcing the second cycle in coming centuries. If seven hundred years are the length of a cycle, the second cycle would begin in the fifteenth, continuing until the twenty first century. That is why Islamic Revivalism nowadays is very hopeful and highly optimistic, not only looking backward but also looking forward. Islamic Revivalism is a manifestation of a historical law. We are at the end of the second seven centuries and the beginning of the third seven centuries. Islamic culture now is on the verge of its second Renaissance, shooting for its peak in the coming two centuries and putting and end to the stagnant phase of the last seven hundred years.

Islamic Revivalism became stronger after Reformism began to fade away, from Al-Afghani to M. Abdouh, to Rashid Redha. The revolutionary input of Al-Afghani was gradually converted to a traditional output in Rashid Redha. Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brethren tried to reactivate the reformist movement through mass-mobilization, fulfilling what al-Afghani hoped for, a

revolutionary Islamic political party. Therefore, Islamic Revivalism has two major sources of power in history. First, the beginning of the second Islamic Renaissance which is also the third phase in Islamic history; second, the rejuvenation of the Reformist movement, returning again to Al-Afghani's perception of liberation of the Muslim world from external oppression (colonialism) and from internal oppression (dictatorship).

3 - Usurpation of Power by Secular Ideologies

The Muslim Brethren, inheriting Islamic Revivalism, were undoubtedly one of the major political powers in the Arab and Muslim World, especially in Egypt and Syria in the forties and early fifties. However, they were not in power. Secular ideologies such as Liberalism and later on Arab Nationalism were the ruling ideologies. Liberalism was ruling in Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon, in the name of national revolution in Egypt in 1919, and in the post-war independence in Syria and Lebanon. In spite of some achievements in urban development, Liberalism was a compro-mise on national independence. Several treaties were concluded with colonial powers, making in dependence a pure form. The intervention of Kings and princes in the parliamentary system reduced democracy to a game of musical chairs between particu-lar parties. The oppression of the opposition, Islamic as well as Marxist, was a common dominator in all successive governments. A pro-Western policy was generally adopted since the West was considered the source of Liberalism. Social problems were far from being resolved such as social justice, illiteracy, poverty, and illness. Landlords, together with emerging industrial capitalists, formed the permanent ruling elite. The defeat of

Arab Armies in Palestine and the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 inflicted severe humiliation to the army's dignity and to national pride. It was easy for the free officers to plan military coups d'Etat to get rid of this false Liberalism based on ignorance, underdevelopment and dependence.

Military coups d'Etat in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya and Sudan began new eras in the Arab and Muslim World, with the aim of completing national independence and abolishing colonial military pacts, of liquidating feudalism, building strong armies, and realizing social justice. They were quickly transformed into nationalist and socialist regimes. In spite of their spectacular achievements such as agrarian reform, free education, public sector, nationalization of foreign companies, industrialization, workers' rights, socialist laws, Arab Nationalism, and non-alignment, the losses were also tremendous: Persecution of Muslim Brethren and of the Marxists as well, suppression of freedom of the press, absence of the opposition in favour of the one party system. the emergence of a new class which inherited the old feudal one, opportunism and favouritism, the domination of civilian life by the military and finally the humiliating defeat in June 1967. The Muslim Brethren lived this era whether in prisons, out of their countries or integrated in public life, satisfied with ritualistic Islam. In prison they began to split into several groups, thinking of their own past and waiting for revenge. Liberation movements, led by a national liberation front(Algeria), an independence party (Morocco) or the New-Destour party (Tunisia), used Islam in the beginning as an ideology of Liberation to mobilize the masses, to oppose Foreign powers and to assert national identity. But at the end, Islam was left

aside in favour of secular Nationalism. Then Islamic fundamentalism took birth as a reminder of the soul of the people. It grew stronger after liberation movements became more secular and more Western. When they began to challenge regimes, Islamic groups were outlawed.

Nothing was left for Islamic groups except traditional conservatism as a temporary ally, having one common enemy, secular ideologies of Modernization-Liberalism, Arab Socialism and Marxism. But once conflict of interests arises, Islamic groups revolt against the supporting ally [(6)].

4 - Power Struggle Between Hakimiya and Taghut

A historical analysis of the origin of violence in contemporary Islam is insufficient if it is not intertwined with the question of legitimacy. Historical analysis gives facts while legitimation is a value. The major legitimizing device in contemporary Islam is the Hakimiya, the rule of God or better, the rule of God's Law. The origin of political power is God. God does not rule in person but through the Law, the Shar'ia. When the Shar'ia is not applied in society, social systems and political regimes become illegal and consequently illegitimate. Ibn Taymiya formulated it earlier against the Tatars, Mawdudi against the Hindu society and Sayed Qutb against all contemporary Muslim societies.

Hakimiya liberates man and society from the Taghut, the oppressive human power. In spite of the assertion of some

(٦) Examples are Sadat's assasination by the Jihad group in October 1981 and the take-over of the Haram in Mekka by the new-Wahhabi group in November 1979.

philosophers that human law is an expression of Reason and Nature, in fact, human law expresses class interests and the dominating segments of society. Human power is a source of oppression and behind all kinds of repressive violence. Only Divine Law fulfills the common needs of man and society. Given the correspondence between Revelation, Reason and Nature, Islam, as individual Muslim or as society, cannot be loyal to human imposed law, but only to the Divine Law. The revolt against human law is inherent in Islam. Islam means to surrender only to God, not to the Taghut, the obscurantist and repressive power. The first article of faith in Islam, Shahadah, begins by a negation La ilaha, followed by an affirmation illa Allah, the negation of the Taghut to liberate one's self from the pseudo-gods of the time and the affirmation of the Will of God expressed in the rule of Law. This is the strength of Islamic movements on the level of legitimation.

Facing this powerful theoretical rejection, ruling elites in the Muslim World do not have similar legitimizing theories for their powers. In the absence of a clear-cut theory of social contract, explaining the origin of power by a popular mandate, the Hakimiya will always be a stronger and more appealing doctrine for the Muslims than all secular ideologies. First, Liberalism in the Muslim World is practically a myth. It is an imitation of the Western multi-party system without its superstructure: freedom of thought, use of rational arguments, analysis of facts and societies, identification of interests, recognition of the dignity and rights of man, subservience of nature, active participation in the progress of history. Liberalism without its intellectual and philosophical prerequisites would be fraud, corruption, consumerism, imported goods and domination of

the upper class. Second, Arab Socialism began by military coups d'Etat. Once revolutionary violence is admitted as a means for socio-political change in one historical moment, it can be generalized to other historical moments by any capable group, military or civilian. It becomes a double weapon used by any opposition group, combining power and legitimacy against the State. The only criteria of validity would be success. Election is made as a plebiscite, for one candidate, usually in power. Third, Marxism also becomes entitled for a take-over by the vanguard after a period of secret activity in the army and in civilian organizations. Fourth, traditional cconservatism is represented by hereditary Kingdoms, Emirates or Sheikdoms, where rule is transmitted from fathers to sons, from kings to crown princes, regimes which Islam does not recognize. Islamic rule is based on Shura (Consultation), Bay'a (Delegation of power) and Ikhtiar (Free choice). Islamic rule is legalized by an Aqd(Contract), the only theory similar to social contract.

5 - Failure of Secular Ideologies of Modernization

Islamic Fundamentalism presents itself as the sole alternative for secular ideologies of modernization. It is dictated by a historical law and based on irrefutable legitimacy. The complete bankruptcy of actual political regimes based on secular ideologies does not tolerate any expansion of doctrine or of practice of Islamic Fundamentalism. Thus, the more political regimes are defeated, the more Islamic fundamentalism appears on the scene as an alternative. The more secular ideologies are isolated, the more popular Islamic fundamentalism becomes. Secular ideologies are

ready to compromise on Palestine and to recognize the Zionist State, while Islamic Fundamentalism is the only continuous struggle for the liberation of Palestine and the recovery of Jerusalem. Since all secular ideologies oppress the people, the difference in oppression is only in degree, not in kind. Islamic Fundamentalism presents itself as an ideology of liberation from external oppression of laws and institution, and from internal oppression of fear and passiveness. All secular ideologies without exception, including the most radical ones, on the left or on the right, socialist or capitalist, are dealing with the West, in trade, oil drilling, investment of accumulated wealth, banking, technical cooperation, intelligence, and mass media.. etc., all culminating in an “open-door” policy. Islamic fundamentalism is presenting itself as a movement returning to the self, away from absorption in the other. To the extent Westernization becomes a normal national behavior in social customs and in modes of thought, Islamic fundamentalism jumps in as an assertion of Islamic identity even in the most rigid, formalistic and ritualistic way: beard, white robe, veil, printed Islamic effigies hung everywhere, including the Qur'an, prayer announcements in the mass-media and through loud-speakers, construction of mosques, and the call for an immediate application of Islamic penal code.

In this Chaos, young Muslims, still puritan and uncorrupted by secular ideologies and social practices, found in Islam the only savior. Islam is a serious challenge to all ruling ideologies and political regimes. In the middle of this turmoil and absolute fiasco, Islam is never tolerated not as an alternative ideology nor as a substitute political regime. Islam is permitted only for the defense of

secular ideologies and the justification of political decisions. The constitutions stipulate that Islam is the religion of the country and that the head of the State should be a Muslim. Islam became a shield hiding the most anti-Islamic political regimes. Islam becomes a play in the political game. A political regime may wage a battle against atheism, having in mind the political opposition. A State may "overbid" by making excessive and risky claims on Islamic fundamentalism, in making the call for the application of Islamic Law, as in the case of the penal code, not on the basis of social ethics or political theory—using Islamic fundamentalism as a device for repression and dissuasion.

6 - Superiority - Inferiority Complex.

There is a double cultural and historical injustice which has made the Islamic Revivalist movements appear violent, erupting from time to time, like an active volcano. The image of Islam throughout history is completely distorted in the Western mass media, in the traditional Western discipline called “Orienden-talism” and even in actual social sciences, especially sociology and anthropology. According to these perspectives, Islamic culture is due to external influences, and its creativity in history is very limited. Islamic revelation is denied and the Qur'an is a collection of Judeo-Christian apocrypha. The prophet of Islam is only a worldly man. Islam was propagated through wars and violence. The Dhimi are something similar to second class citizens. The Islamic penal code is cruel and women are discriminated against. Islamic peoples, in spite of a heroic classical culture carried on mostly by non-Arabs, declined and are still declining. The Islamic World is mostly in

Africa and Asia, the core of the underdeveloped Third World. Islam or Religion is confused with people's customs and manners. All repulsive and shocking customs such as veil, violence, corruption, ignorance, fatalism, cruelty, hypocrisy, murder, and hijacking are considered somehow related to Islam. Even the image of the "ugly Arab" in London, buying a whole super-market in one day with his wives and harem behind him is also not very far from Islam [(7)]. By the power of repetition, these stereotyped images became realities, creating new images, having controlling powers and generating political decisions. It becomes very hard to change reality since the image has blocked the chances for social change. Violence in contemporary Islam is just a revolt against these stereotyped images, a rejection of this image of the self made by the other.

Simultaneously, Western Culture has appeared in the mass media as the Culture par-excellence, as a model for every society to imitate. It is the only culture of reason, science, human freedom, social welfare and progress. The only hope for the Non-Western World for development is to be westernized. That means the abandonment of self-identity and the imitation of the other. The old empires of Rome and Charlemagne, the suprem-acy of Europe during the "geographical discoveries" and the new Imperial powers in Western and Eastern Europe alike, strengthened the old myth of the supremacy of the White Man, still going on openly in South Africa and tacitly in the subconsciousness of Western Culture.

This situation, the devaluation of the self and the over-valuation of the other, created an inferiority-superiority complex, determining

(v) This image has been analyzed by E. Said in, "Orientalism" and "Covering Islam".

the behavioral relation between the Muslim World and the Western World. Since it is not a normal relation, that of equal sharing in the making of history, violence in contemporary Islam erupts in order to change the inferiority-superiority complex to a more normal relation between two equal partners. Since events in history move according to the law of action and reaction, the famous dialectics between the slave and the master, the inferiority-superiority complex changes the partner but not the equation. The inferior becomes superior and the superior becomes inferior. The slave of yesterday is the master of tomorrow and the master of yesterday may be the slave of tomorrow. This dialectic occurs today, in a historical moment of the reversed equation. This is also the deep motivation behind the take-over of the American Embassy and the hostage affair in Tehran in 1979. The change has already occurred on the psychological level even if the power relation is still in favor of the West.

7 - Success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Islamic Revivalism never stopped, even in the decadent phase. Ibn-Tayimiya in the eighth century of Higra was the mod-el for Wahabism in the eleventh century. Reformism initiated by al-Afghani and his disciple is only a second wave of Revivalism. The upsurgence of Islam observed recently in the Arab and Muslim World since the defeat of 1967 is only a third wave. As a reaction to the military defeat, the withdrawal to the self was a natural movement to preserve one's self midst the sweeping defeat of society. If secular ideologies were defeated, Islam as spiritual patrimony was victorious. If the flesh was unable to resist, the soul was able to stand. Since the external world is lost the internal world

can be maintained as a natural and necessary compensation. Since Islam is still alive but secluded inside the soul under the suppression of the defeated socio-political regimes, only ritualistic Islam appears as secure and innocent Islamic manifestations. When Arab armies were retreating from the battle, Muslim Brethren were hunted everywhere, and in the same time were fighting back, not attacking the enemy frontally, but nurturing the Islamic alternative as a viable option.

In spite of some practical victories. such as the war of attrition in 1968-69, the Libyan revolution in 1969 and October war in 1973, secular ideologies failed again through the recognition of the Zionist State and the peace treaty in 1979. Then, the Iranian Revolution broke the silence and political Islam burst forth. It gave the Muslim World in general and Islamic movements in particular, great energy and self-confidence. The era of Islam finally came. Westernization, dependence and secularism finally collapsed. Now, theoretical legitimacy is combined with historical evidence that Islam as the ideology of the people is a real alternative and a viable option.

Indeed, Islam was victorious in Iran by three factors which are the same components in all Islamic movements. The first is Islam as national identity of the people, still in the heart as a living tradition from the past and still vivid in the present. Islam asserts the national identity of the people against Westernization, seen as the source of political and cultural alienation. Islam is the only possible substitute for all secular ideologies of modernization. The second is the people, the Muslim masses. Once the masses are intertwined with Islam, a huge power erupts, sweeping out anti-Islamic socio-political and

cultural alienation. The third is religious leadership, radical and non-compromising. a charisma and a messiah announcing the advent of the Kingdom of heaven. The spectacular success of the Islamic revolution in Iran generated an Islamic revolutionary mood in the Muslim World, not necessarily adopting the model but encouraging Islamic groups everywhere to initiate similar eruptions. The take-over of the Haram in Mekka, in November, 1979 and Sadat's assassination in October 1981 were only two historical incidents revealing the same state of mind. Both were puritan eruptions against the use of Islam as a cover-up for pro-Western policies and social corruption.

Since revolution and wealth came too early to the Arab and Muslim World, still living its traditional conservatism as a continuous historical phase, the misuse of both was also spectacular. Islamic revolution began to lose touch with the very reasons for its success, national unity between the Imams and the intellectuals, freedom of expression for all political trends, and the national front between all political powers. The external threat to the revolution accentuated the internal seclusion and maintained radical conservatism as the only guarantor for the consolidation of the State and the permanence of the Revolution. Likewise, Arab Wealth was accumulated in foreign banks, helping in the development of the Western World more than the Arab world. Internally, it appeared in opulence, extravagance and pomp as a hidden life-style of the ruling elite.

8 - Mass-Mobilization through Mass Culture

Islamic eruptions which appeared till now as individual or small group actions (Sadat's assassination by Jihad group in October 1981,

the assassination of the minister of endowments, Sheikh al-Dhahabi, in 1976), began to emerge as larger group actions (the Haram takeover in Mekka by Juhaiman and the new Wahabi group in November 1979, the central security building assault in Assiout by Jama'a Islamiya, in October 1981, the military academy take over in Cairo by the Islamic Liberation party in 1972) or as mass action (the Islamic revolution in Iran). In all cases, Islam possesses all the components of a militant ideology and an activist political party in a very favorable milieu without even requiring an extra effort to build one. The ideology is already there, political Islam in the hearts of the masses is already believed-in without any extra effort to preach and to convince. Islam is a belief-system, a value-system anchored in mass-culture. Islam provides the masses with their views of the World and their motivations for action. The Qur'an is read, memorized and always quoted as the source of Knowledge and ethical code. The Hadith is also narrated as a model of exemplary behavior to be followed. The Fiqh and the legal opinions, Fatawi Shar'iya, are norms of conduct to be conformed with. Islamic ideology is already there in the hearts and minds. The vanguard is present in Islamic militant groups, young puritans, zealous Muslims, dedicated proselytes for the cause of Islam, mostly students, innocent youth, honest intellectuals and pure nationalists. The party meetings and even underground cells can be held in mosques and the new social annex for medical and social services. The imams are trustworthy. Friday speeches are widely heard. They become very influential as vehicles for social criticism.

As long as external oppression continues and accentuates, mass-mobilization through Islam as mass-culture widens and

accelerates. The lack of external and legal channels of expression makes the pressure high on the internal and illegal ones. The formation of underground groups and cells becomes the only outcome. The stronger the crack-down of legal authority on the underground and militant Islam by forces of security, the stronger becomes the reaction through Islamic violent eruptions. Violence practiced by the State generates a counter-violence practiced by Islamic groups. Oppressive violence practiced by the Taghut as illegal authority generates the revolutionary violence of the Hakimiya. Mutual violence becomes a matter of power-struggle between legality and illegality. The question is: who is legal and who is illegal?

The actual dichotomy in the Muslim World between a secular ruling elite and Muslim masses makes the political power always a minority ruling a majority, a majority that is generally, obedient, but once reactivated by Islamic groups it becomes dissident. If this dissidence is not mobilized practically it is always there as a state of mind, in psychological readiness, given the masses' ideological convictions and traditional motivations. It is natural that the minority wants to rule the Majority, given the dictatorial type of the actual Muslim era. But it is also natural that the majority wants to dissent, given also the violent Islamic eruptions of the time. The ruling minority allies itself with the middle class in order to have a relatively wider constituency to be able to control the dissident masses. Since the middle class forms the State apparatus--forces of security, political parties, mass media, legal and social institutions, the anathema of the State toward the Muslim masses is declared. Its laws should be legally disobeyed.

9 - Solutions

However, it is easy to clarify this gloomy picture of peace and security in the Muslim World. Violence is normally a state of mind or an attitude in the World rather than a common practice and a standard behavior. This state of mind has been acquired in the last three decades, given the circumstances of the Muslim World. If these circumstances change, the state of mind will also change.

1- Since violence in contemporary Islam is due to the oppression of Islamic groups cha1lenging the actual political regimes, freedom of expression for all ideological trends Islamic, Socialist, Marxist, Liberal… would allow Islamic groups to express themselves freely, formulating their own stands on major issues of the time. An open and free expression of Islam, as an alternative in its own mass-media daily newspaper, weekly magazine, monthly review, quarterly and yearbook, would reduce the sense of oppression. Since freedom of expression is for all, a dialogue between different ideologies in the Muslim World will strengthen the Islamic alternative in a normal way, making it more concrete, more articulated, more pragmatic and more realistic. In this way, a lot of energy which presently expresses itself in violent actions could be expressed by religious thought. The best weapon is the idea and the worst enemy is the counter-idea. The first power is Reason. Open dialogue between the opponents is also a major tradition as much as violence, so it is there to be drawn upon constructively.

2- Since Islam is not only a doctrine but also a law, not only a belief-system but a life style, it is absolutely natural that Islamic political parties would come out in the open as a result of mass affiliation to Islamic Ideology. The whole Muslim world is full of underground Islamic groups, outlawed Islamic parties and secret

organizations which are against the State party or pseudo-liberal parties and official opposition groups supporting the State. It is better to have legal and over-ground Islamic political parties and organizations rather than illegal and underground groups. If Islamic political parties can offer the Muslim masses a socio-political programme meeting their demands and realizing their hopes, why exclude them? The monopoly of power in the one-party system is one of the major causes of violence, not only in contemporary Islam, but also in contemporary secular political life.

3- Since oppressive political regimes are one of the causes of violence in contemporary Islam, a democratization of political life in the Muslim World is necessary to prevent violence. The more oppressive a political regime, the more violent are opposition groups, including Islamic ones. Democratization would even help political regimes in widening their popular support and in rallying the masses in order to have a good argument based on the delegation of power by the people to the leader, adopting the Hakimiya doctrine. If violence practiced by the State stops, the counter-violence practice by Islamic groups also disappears.

4- Since Islamic fundamentalism is presenting itself as the only alternative and viable option for the Muslim World, given the complete failure of the ruling secular ideologies, some successes on the socio-political front by the ruling elite would convince the masses, by concrete achievements, that ruling ideologies can also be viable options. During the sixties, when Arab socialism was victorious and the social transformation was in high gear, Islamic fundamentalism was at its lowest level. When Arab nationalism in the late fifties was at the eve of a realization of a whole dream, total Arab Unity, Islamic fundamentalism was almost non-existent. It is

like the two sides of a balance. When secular ideologies are high, Islamic funda-mentalism is down. When Islamic fundamentalism is high. secular ideologies are down, or the other way around.

5- Since Islam is the main stream in the mass-culture, all forms of Westernization are indeed forms of alienation in the Muslim World. A re-Islamization of the daily life would make the recruitment of puritan youth to Islamic fundamentalism still more difficult. If Islam is present in daily life as an expression of national identity, not a forgotten soul to be reminded of and rekindled, Islamic fundamentalism would lose its grounds and one of its raison d'être. Islam would be more than a common denominator in socio-political and cultural life more than an isolated and introverted vision and activity practiced by closed groups and marginal cells.

6- Since the monopoly of political power by the one-party-system is one of the reasons for violence in contemporary Islam, sharing political power by Islamic parties would eliminate one of the major reasons for violence. Islam has the same legitimacy for governing as secular ideologies have and even more. Sharing power between ruling elites and Islamic groups would eliminate the power struggle between both rivals. Sharing responsibility would give Islamic groups, something for which they struggled since they are thinking, like earlier political groups that "God changes by the Sultan more than He changes by the Qur'an." Sharing in the decision-making process would convince Islamic groups that power, longtime desired, is a heavy responsibility and not a magic solution for the drama of the Muslim World. Sharing in planning would help Islamic groups in bringing Islam from the utopian vision down to earth, dealing with concrete problems and looking

for specific Islamic solutions. In such a conciliatory climate, Liberal, Marxist, Socialist and Islamic solutions may not seem that far from each other.

7- If sharing power is psychologically unacceptable and practically impossible, orienting the activity of Islamic groups towards social work is possible and desirable. The elimination of Islamic groups from public life in the last three decades was one of the reasons for the expansion of moral corruption everywhere. Islamic Ideals such as honesty, work, dedication, sacrifice, and loyalty to the community disappeared. New motivations in mass behavior became overwhelming, such as immigration, wealth, consumption, sex crime, violence, lethargy and nihilism. Islamic groups can, at least, help in addressing the moral upheaval of the people, giving the youth the sense of purpose, helping them in discovering their vocation and realizing the Islamic Call.

8- As long as, and to the extent that, Islamic groups are considered outlaws, outsiders and peripheral groups in society, violence will always continue. A reintegration of Islamic groups within society, as large inside groups working at the center, would strengthen in Islamic youth the sense of belonging. The actual image of an Islamic militant as a criminal, hunted by the forces of security and carrying bombs under his sutan, hiding pistols in his beard, with long nails and sharp teeth, like a savage animal or a cannibal, as drawn in some caricatures has to change. Another very different image of an Islamic activist as a citizen, adopting Islam as an ideology and life-style, reminding the people of their tradition and presenting Islam as an alternative solution, for constructive participation in the actual drama of governance, would be strongly recommended.

9- Violence is everywhere, practiced by Religious as well as by secular groups, by individuals as well as by States. Religious violence is not something inherent in Islam, and it is also common in other religious practices (Catholics in Ireland, Zionists in Palestine, Tamils in Sri Lanka). Religious violence is a very small segment of a larger violence related to racial discrimination such as blacks in America and South Africa. Both religious and racial violence are another small segment of political violence practiced by States and even by super-powers, such as the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the American invasion of Grenada. Social violence is almost a daily practice: Robbery, organized crime, suicide, breaking-in, espionage, sabotage, bombing, demonstration, strike, revenge, retaliation, tribal rivalry… etc. Religious violence has been focused upon out of proportion because of the internal contradiction in the link between religion based on peace and violence conceived as aggression. Since violence appears often in the Muslim World, religion was linked to it as its cause, falsely identifying Islam with the state of desperation from internal as well as external oppression in which Muslim peoples live. Once violence is put in its sociopolitical and historical context, it can be easily understood as an effect of the real causes of violence, to be dealt with and not to be ignored.

Peace and security cannot be preserved in the Muslim World by forces of security but by forces of Islam having legal and open channels of expression. Political regimes have to understand laws of history and the actual dichotomy between the secular elite and the Muslim mass majority. It does not matter who will be the victim in the process of democratization: Alienated Western elites or nationalist and popular Islam? Regardless of the outcome of this process, peace and security will finally and permanently be preserved.

THE DIALECTICS OF VIOLENCE AND NON -VIOLENCE

A Phenomenological Analysis of the Discourse on Violence, Based on the Theory of Clarification

1– Introduction: The Relevance of the Research on Non-Violence

1-1. Any research in social science that begins in advance by a presupposition becomes more preaching than scientific research. The commitment to society does not mean taking a position in advance for one solution or the other. A research is essentially an open dialogue, first in the consciousness of the researcher, between himself and his phenomenon. If the researcher would know in advance the results of his research, then he becomes a preacher engaging himself in a mass-media campaign for one solution rather than for the other. Since the solution is not researched but previously adopted, it becomes a conviction. Science becomes an art of communication not a logic of discovery, a Dialectic or a Rhetoric rather than an analysis and a demonstration. The first is only conjecture, while the second offers certitude. The first ends by falling into dogmatism, while the second initiates an open inquiry. The option between different presuppositions expresses a struggle between two powers, a conflict between two wills. However, such a result is an outcome of scientific research, not a presupposition adopted in advance. This is the difference between neutrality and "partie-prie"(*).

(*) Arabic Thought Forum. Conference on "Non-violent Struggle", Amman, Jordan, 15-17 November 1986

1-2 Social phenomena are not one-sided, but complex and diverse. They are very proliferate, so their analysis depend on the outlook, the motivation, the interest and the final goal of the researcher. This complexity in social phenomena is seen as dialectics, namely the internal contradiction carried within the social phenomenon itself. Yes and No answers are purely schematic, simplistic and pseudo-pedagogic. For instance, if the purpose is to explain non-violence and to re-educate the masses on a newly discovered value, the means to implement this goal is not to condemn violence or to deny its causes or its outcomes but to dig deeper into violence, to rediscover non-violence. The understanding of the self, namely non-violence, is possible by the understanding of the other and even the absolute other, namely violence. In dialectics the thesis contains already the anti-thesis and the anti-thesis is already contained in the thesis. It is only a matter of time, in which phase of the process, in which stage of the course of events, that the dialectics appear.

1-3 The commitment to non-violence is a noble purpose which all humans share. Who likes bloodshed, killing, when innocent women and children are living in an atmosphere of terror? Professional soldiers in war have their moments of remorse as we saw in the American soldiers returning back from Vietnam. Even mercenaries have their awakened consciousness. However, a noble cause is something and scientific research is something else. The attitude of the subject is a human expression of anxiety, not a perception of reality where the subject is completely identified with its object. It is much more preferable that the noble cause be served through scientific research, not outside or even against it. It is better to

understand the causes of violence before preaching non-violence. As a philosopher put it, all theories, novels and literature on hunger will not prevent a hungry child from dying. Similarly, all theories, literature and meetings on non-violence will not prevent violent actions from occurring. Understanding the causes of violence and trying to change it is the only way to reach non-violence as a noble cause.

1-4 The timing of the research on non-violence is also important. During the two World wars when violence was practiced, during the Vietnam and Korean wars, the research on non-violence was nil. However, when violence is committed against the Big Powers controlling the mass media, by frustrated individuals or oppressed groups from small nations, as the only way to speak and to be heard, the research on non-violence appears. Is the research on non-violence a new indirect way to disarm the wretched of the Earth from the only weapon they, still have at hand, namely suicide? When Big Powers were the aggressors, the research on non-violence was not a concentrated effort in Universities, Centres and Forums. Only when Big Powers became the victims of violence was the research on non-violence initiated, supported and hailed. From that viewpoint, the flagrant examples of violence occurred since the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the take-over of the American Embassy, and the American hostages in Beirut. All were directed against Big Powers headed by the USA. It is only since the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the loss of hope of the Palestinians that violence emerged as an overwhelming presence in the mass media under the control of Big Powers. Therefore, the interest of Big Powers required knowledge and knowledge supported that interest.

1-5 Violence came to the headlines in the two decades of counter-revolution, namely. the 1970s and 1980s. During the two previous decades of decolonization, namely the 1950s and the 1960s, violence was channeled as a general movement of people's liberation, not individual acts of despair. Given the limits of decolonization, recolonization occurred from outside, by gradual loss of national sovereignty, more dependence on foreign powers and the absorption of national economies in the World economy, dominated by multinational corporations. A counter-revolution also proceeded from inside via the alliance of the new middle class with international capital and the loss of the previous socialist option with its State planned economy. Therefore, violence is a desperate reaction against the counter-revolutions. It is only a recent phenomenon, not a built-in structural feature of given societies or a specific belief and value system in specific cultures. Once a second wave of liberation begins, desperate and individual acts of dissent and anger would be channeled into the big movement of people's liberation [(1)]. During the People's revolution in Sudan against Numeiri and in the Philippines against Marcos, and after the adoption of people's form of struggle, namely civil disobedience, the potential for desperate individual and collective eruptions of violence was reintegrated into the general stream of popular struggle through civil disobedience.

1-6 Non-violence cannot be used in a very large and loose meaning, including violence. Clear concepts require logical definitions, which include and exclude. Violence and non-violence

(١) Hassan Hanafi: From Decolonization to Cultural Liberation", International Sociological Association (XI), World Congress of Sociology, New-Delhi, 18-23 August 1986.

are two clear and opposite alternatives. The first is calling for bloodshed, the second is more humanitarian and peace-loving. The first is assigned to the opposition and the dissident groups, the second is adopted by the State to discredit the opposition and to defend Law and Order. Violence is a crime while non-violence is Sainthood. Violent actions are criminal actions while non-violent actions are innocent and pure. Therefore, the concept of "Non-violent Struggle" may be a contradiction in terms, a definition of the general which is struggle by the particular which is Non-violent, a reduction of the universal to one of its individual cases.

1-7 The concept of non-violent struggle implies two means of achievement of goals, non-violence and struggle. Struggle is the general means, the recognition that nothing can be achieved without human effort. Struggle here is a general term which indicates a general fact. Non-violent is a particular way. In this case, violence would be another way, another form of struggle. Linking "non-violent" to struggle is determining the general means by a particular means. That is why violence and non-violence are two ways of describing a dialectic of one process.

1-8 Research on non-violence sometimes has practical implications. It does not reveal only a desire for peace, but it also aims at implementation of pacification. It is not only a matter of understanding the fact, but also a matter of changing a situation. So pacification is an option which needs a justification based on scientific research. However, there are limitations for the implementation of the non-violent option through education. Reality imposes its own laws, so once the option of non-violence is

void and formal, violence emerges. That is, a subjective option or wish is different from an objective process. More specifically, the external will of individuals, groups or even big powers is different from the internal dynamics of people's reality.

1-9 The Arab and Islamic world is not a special case where the dialectics of violence and non-violence occur. India, Sri Lanka, South-Africa, East-Africa (Ethiopia and Somalia) Spain (Basque) and Latin-America (Nicaragua) are also regions where violence occurs. Are there any motivations behind linking violence to the Middle East and calling for non-violence in the Middle East? Who is the target of violence, the USA, the Zionistic State? Who is describing the desperate acts of the oppressed peoples in the Middle East as terrorism and who calls for non-violence? In fact, mutual violence is common between ethnic, religious and political groups, for example, the civil war in Lebanon, the Iraq-Iran war, the Kurds fighting for autonomy in Northern Iraq, the Southern-Sudan fighting the central government of the North, the Polizario fighting Morocco for the independence of the Sahara, the Muslims in Mindanao fighting the Central Government in Manila for their autonomy, Muslim-Hindu clashes in India, political wars between two opposite political factions in Southern Yemen. Such socio-political and ethnic religious unrest is not generally planned or intended, but violence is evoked when situations are created. Dialectics of violence and non-violence is a general description of processes which occur in several regions, not particularly in the Arab and Muslim World. If violence is connected to a special region, it is only because it contains oppressed groups or peoples and presents certain threats to the Big or small Oppressive Powers.

Therefore, the analysis of the case is not a substitute for the description of the law. Cases of violence cannot be dealt with individually, without describing the whole generating process. Analyzing in-depth the specificity of each case permits an accurate description of a general law for different forms of peoples struggle.

2 - The Initiation of Violence: Who is against Whom?

2-1 Many misunderstandings may occur because of lack of clarity in the concepts used. A primary clarification of these concepts would dissipate a lot of confusions. If passions, presuppositions and motivations were set aside momentarily, reason could begin its own analysis of violence as a social phenomenon. The whole process in social science is a theory of clarification, in which reason reflects on given data, clarifying concepts and motivations. Theory of clarification (Klärungsme-thode) is the heart of the phenomeno-logical description, the third step after Reduction of material facts and the Constitution of the essences.

2-2 Violence is always considered as such by those against whom violence is committed. Violence is then an accusation made by the self against the other. The self is not violent while the other is. It is always an accusation against the other as evil and a defense of the self as good, since no one would like to be seen as violent, and reflections of the accused are ipso facto a self defense. This research by the self, discrediting violence and calling for non-violence, may be a way to disarm the other. The research by the other, legitimizing violence and discrediting non-violence, is the maintenance of self-defense and preservation of its sharpest weapon as a legitimate means. Although it is difficult for the

researcher to be a third party, a neutral person and an impartial spectator, at least he can describe the dialectics of violence and non-violence, once from the side of the self and once from the side of the other. He may finally find that the dialectics of violence and non-violence is indeed a power struggle in a historical moment between the oppressor and the oppressed, the eternal dialectics between the master and the slave. The truth to be discovered indeed creates a role to be taken by the researcher. The observation to be made is in fact a situation to be engaged in.

2-3 It is clear from the analysis of the dialectics of violence between the self and the other that the self is legitimizing its own violence committed on the others and outlawing the violence committed upon it by the others briefly, the invasion of Cuba and of Grenada, the embarkment of American troops in Santo Domingo and in Lebanon, the Vietnam War, the invasion of Hungry, Czechoslovakia and of Afghanistan, all forms of new Colonialism by the two Super-Powers after the era of recolonization was legitimized. Palestinians in the Middle-East and Blacks in South-Africa are also legitimizing their own violence against Zionism and Apartheid. The two Super-Powers are legitimizing their violence, whether in defense of the Free World against possible dictatorships, or in the defense of the socialist option against possible threats from bourgeois classes. Palestinians and Blacks make a distinction between oppressive violence, that of the other, and revolutionary violence, that of the self.

2-4 There is also a distinction to be made between individual violence and social violence. Violence is rarely committed by

individuals. There is no such thing as violent persons by nature. Criminals are not born criminals. Violence is a social phenomenon, caused by the conflict of opposite wills in case of the absence of a social contract, that is, of a free delegation of parts of the individual powers to one individual freely elected to represent the collective power. It is only when individuals are the victims of violence that violence erupts as a discourse, but not when whole groups, whole societies and whole Nations are the subject of violence. An individual, especially a European, kidnaped or killed is considered as a victim, yet killing groups in a Palestinian camp, destruction of whole villages in Afghanistan, the use of chemical weapons aginst Iran or mass-murder in South Africa are not considered as violence. In Western mass media, carrying the discourse on violence, Human Rights prevail over People's Rights.

2-5 There is another distinction to be made between individual or group violence and State violence. If a frustrated individual or an oppressed group resorts to violence, it is greatly amplified by the media. If violence is committed by States, invasions, bombing or conspiring, it is not considered violence, but a legitimate defense of high principles and universal values of the free and democratic World. The invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Libya, the invasion of Afghanistan, the invasion of Lebanon are not often present to the mind in a discourse on violence. The discourse on violence is only addressed to the weak part in the struggle to win on behalf of the strong with minimum costs and maximum gains. So, while individuals and small groups may be desperate, States are portrayed as responsible and abiding by International Law.

2-6 Violence is considered as such when it is practiced by small nations such as Libya, Somalia, Nicaragua, or Cuba, but violence committed by Big Powers is not considered as violence but as a defense of the international law, free waters and free passage ways. What determines the concept of violence and its application in a special case is the size of power. The greater the Power is, the stronger is the accusation of violence launched against the other, not against the self. The smaller the Power is, the weaker is the accusation of violence launched against the other, not against the self.

2-7 When violence is committed by political regimes allied to the West and the Big Powers, it is not considered as violence but as legitimate defense of law and order. Zionism is not seen as violent practice against Palestinians in the occupied Territories. Apartheid imprisonments and tortures of Black nationalists are not considered as acts of violence. Numeiri crimes against the Sudanese people, Marcos crimes against the Philippino people, the Shah's crimes against the Iranian people, none were considered as acts of violence. On the contrary, the internal or external opposition to such dictatorial regimes is considered as violence because it goes against the interests of the Big Powers in tutoring allied political regimes. Even more, when violence is committed by unfriendly regimes to the West, it is considered as violence. Libya, Iran, Syria, Egypt during Nasser's time, Nicaragua, Cuba… all are persecuting the opposition and threatening the neighboring and peaceful countries. The opposition to such regimes is not considered as violence. On the contrary, it is supported, encouraged and hailed in defense of freedom and democracy.

2-8 In the Western mass media, violence is more or less connected to Islam, especially after the Islamic revolution in Iran, the taking over of the Haram in Mekka, the American hostages in Tehran, the Palestinian guerrilla movement, the Iraq-Iran war, the suicide missions against American, French and Zionist troops, and the civil war in Lebanon. Then violence is largely connected to Islam and to the Arabs and is always situated in the Middle East. Violence is even and specifically linked to contemporary Islamic Fundamentalism, with certain reminiscence of the Jihad in Islamic history and in Islamic Law, ever since the emergence of a Jihad group in Lebanon. Striking examples are always taken from the assassination of the Minister of Endowments in 1976, the assassination of Sadat in 1981, the take-over of the military academy in Egypt in 1973, or the take-over of the Haram in Mekka in 1979, etc. Sometimes, the violent image of the Middle East is extended to Asia, into the Philippines, to Muslims in Mindanao, to Africa in Southern Sudan and to America with the Black Muslims. By contrast, no reference is made to similar phenomena connected within Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism or Buddhism. Nor is the focus on Northern Ireland and the war between Catholics and Protestants, nor on the ultra-Zionism of Meier Kahana, advocating the genocide of all Palestinians, nor on the Tamils when Hinduism and Buddhism are in conflict, nor on modern religious groups in America and the communes where sex, violence and mysticism are intertwined. The “split” discourse on violence becomes more evident when it touches the very essence of belief-systems. Jihad in Islam comes forward as a legitimation of historical violence but Jabotinski's ideology "I fight, then I exist" is never mentioned.

2-9 It is considered violence when the object of violence is an individual from the West. Yet it is considered non-violence when the object of violence is a non-Westerner. The judgment that an action is violent or not is conditioned by the culture of the victim, since from the view of the West, there are two cultures, a Western and a non-Western. An act committed by non-Westerners (Palestinians, Black Africans, Asians and Latin Americans) against the West is considered violent. The accusation of violence here aims at maintaining the same cultural supremacy, the self against the challenge of the other. The world is seen and preserved as two worlds and humanity is two humanities. So it is not considered violence, if it is the violence of Western regimes or people against foreign labor and immigrants such as that of Great Britain against Asians. The amplification of violence as committed by Non-Westerners against the West is a part of the concentrated effort in modern times to distort the image of the non-Western World. The era of Modern Times in Europe is indeed an usurpation of the history of the Non-Western World, a violation of the Islamic World dismantled, dismembered and colonized. It is a continuation of the old Crusades, first unsuccessful by land invasion of Palestine, but then successful by surrounding the Afro-Asian and Latin American World from the seas and oceans and called geographic discoveries!

2-10 It is not considered violence when violence is committed inside Europe by the Europeans themselves against each other, Protestants against Catholics in Ireland, the Basques against Spain, the crimes of youth, robberies, sex-crimes, assaults, mafia, organized crimes. It is not considered violence when we see the practice of violence in Western mass media, films making bank

robbers and bandits heroes models of behavior. The impact of films hailing violence on the imagination and practice of youth is tremendous. The discourse of violence emerges when violence is politically motivated, not when it is socially originated. Although violence practiced by oppressed groups, forgotten nations and all the wretched of the Earth can be politically motivated, politics here means the desire for a self-identity, a legal entity, a self rule, self-determination and Nationhood. Social violence can also be indirectly politically motivated, and politics here means social disloyalty and cultural dissent.

2-11 Violence occurs not only in the life of individuals, groups, societies and nations as material violence, but also against images, ideas and belief-systems as cultural violence. The material violence practiced by the weak against the strong may be an indirect revenge against cultural violence practiced by the strong against the weak. The images of the non-Western World in the West are distorted, deformed and stereotyped. These are images of ignorance, back-wardness, fatalism, oriental despotism, totalitarianism, disorder, dirtiness, "mentalité primitive," "Pensée Sauvage," Black and Yellow races. From the beginning of philosophies of history in the West in the 18th century (Herder, Kant), until its peak in the 19th century (Vico, Turgot, Condorcet, A. Compte and even K. Marx), the non-Western World is represented as the early stages in human development, the pre-progress age, the pre-human era, the darkness which the light of Modern Times dissipated. Orientalism, Psychology of Peoples and Anthropology are the birthplace of such distorted images. Violence against the West is indeed violence against the distorted images the West has made for the non-West,

seeking rectification of the image of the self in the minds and the cultures of the other. This cultural shock has been permanently imposed as a moment of despair in the non-Western World, creating a fear that it will never catch up with the progress in the Western World, since the rate of learning in the non-Western world is much slower then the rate of progress in the Western World. This is then converted into a shock treatment, to cure the self from despair, to destroy the idol and to declare the will of God.

2-12 Therefore, violence and non-violence are relative concepts. Relative does not mean relativistic, since the commitment to non-violence is a noble cause. Relative means in relation to something else: the social class, the size of a nation, the oppressor, the oppressed, the culture, and so on. The thrust of the phenomenological analysis of the discourse on violence based on the effort of clarification is for the researcher to be more aware of the double standard and consequently the double-talk involved in the discourse on violence.

3 - Repressive Violence and Liberating Violence

3-1 The relation between non-violence and violence is indeed the famous relation between Logos and Praxis. Non-violence means speech, discourse, conviction, dialogue, persuasion and argumentation, culminating in negotiations. Since both non-violence and violence are two sides of the same coin, they are linked together in a certain internal dialectic, a law of opposition. If non-violence increases, violence decreases, if violence increases non-violence decreases. However, both violence and non-violence will be always and permanently present since both represent the

thesis and the antithesis in the same dialectics. Gandhi's non-violence carried with it his own assassination. The balance of the dialectics can be seen either as a logic of preponderance or as two successive phases in the same historical process. The first is synchronic, the second diachronic. In both cases, the dialectics of violence and non-violence is maintained, once as structure and the other as development.

3-2 Grammatically, non-violence is an external negation by a “non” to violence giving the impression that violence comes first and non-violence comes after, that violence is an action and non-violence is a reaction. But it is an external negation by “non,” not a full negation, an opposition. Peace is the opposite of war. Peaceful means are against violent means. “Violent” is an adjective, not a noun and is correlated to means, not a substantive noun standing alone. It is a mode of action in the absence of other modes, a modality of behavior in specific conditions.

3-3 Since negation is the origin of affirmation, violence is not a primary phenomenon and non-violence a secondary one, but violence is a secondary phenomenon and non-violence is a third one. The primary phenomenon is a double violence. Both are continuing, and by the force of continuation became habits or newly acquired facts. The first is the injustice committed against individuals, groups and peoples, continuing on and becoming normal facts in daily life like white domination in South Africa, Zionist occupation of Palestine, Indian Reservations, Chicanos, Puertoricans, Appalachians in North America. This is seen as the division of the World into Rich and Poor, those who have and those

who have not, maldistribution of wealth, multinational corporations, exploitation, monopoly, and wars. The second is the lack of freedom of expression given to the wretched of the earth: The Blacks in Africa, Palestinians in Palestine, Indians, Puertoricans, Chicanos in North America, poor nations, poor classes, exploited workers, and the deprived. Since the maintenance of such bipolarity is conditioned by preserving the status quo, all measures of oppression, declared or undeclared, are used to maintain law and order. Freedom of expression, cries of the oppressed and voices of the voiceless are considered disturbances of the public order.

3-4 In modern revolutionary literature in Latin America, there is already a distinction between oppressive violence and revolutionary violence. The first is a political means practiced by the State to maintain social injustice and to defend the status quo. The second is a self-defense practiced by the people against both social injustice and military oppression. If the first is a repressive violence, the second is a liberating violence. If the first is a voluntary action, the second is an involuntary reaction. If the first is portrayed as premeditated, freely chosen and consequently responsible, the second is portrayed as reflexive, spontaneous and consequently irresponsible. Yet the first is a clear aggression, the second is a legitimate self-defense. The first is practiced by oppressive and dictatorial political regimes allied to Big Powers, the second is practiced by the people mobilized by liberation movements, national fronts and revolutionary calls. These two kinds of violence are not equal in terms. The first is a repressive violence, the second is a liberating violence.

3-5 When does violence occur? Violence occurs in very special circumstances when violence becomes the only way left for human existence to express itself. Violence is only an external and an ultimate manifestation of long and deep-rooted causes. Violence begins in a situation of violence carrying three elements: first, a strong feeling of injustice and frustration by individuals, groups and nations; second, the incapacity of these individuals, groups and societies to change the situation of injustice using the non-violent means through speech; third, the absence of dialogue between the originator of injustice and the recipient of injustice, or the presence of a "dialogue of the deaf." In this moment, the dialectics of violence and non-violence reaches its paroxysm and the tension between the thesis and the antithesis reaches its peak. The eruption of violence from both sides becomes a historical necessity in search of a third term in the dialectical process.

3-6 Violence appears more if human existence is threatened. Social injustices are modes of existence, while annihilation is a negation of existence. In history, political institutions were the forms in which human entities were expressed. The strongest violent actions would occur if these institutional forms were destroyed and human groups became formless. This is what is called the diaspora. Since the State is the highest institutional form in which other primary and intermediary forms culminate, such as family, schools, ethical codes, police, army, tribunals, constitutions, the destruction of the State, the negation of Nationhood, and the denial of self-determination would be the primary cause of violence in its strongest form, namely suicidal missions.

3-7 Violence emerged in the era of the counter-revolutions, in the 1970s and the 1980s, as a desperate, disorganized and unenlightened political action. During the 1960s, the heroic and romantic era of decolonization and socialist Nation-building, the so-called phenomenon of violence did not exist. Every nation had its own national project and was capable of mobilizing the masses, even bureaucratically. There was a participation of the whole nation in the national goals. There was a harmony between popular needs and national demands, on the one hand, and natural and human resources on the other hand. In spite of the weaknesses of political institutions, the one-party systems, the overwhelming presence of forces of security, and the preponderant place of the military establishment, violent eruptions were minimal. Dissident groups on the right or on the left were easily absorbed in the System or stayed inactive. Only when the State withdrew or collapsed, without a national project and dependence on foreign powers, the dissident groups were able to act independently, even without open and direct mass support. Violent acts were intended to mobilize the masses, to frighten the weak State and to gain strength and self-confidence.

3-8 Violence erupts when a political regime rules a country without a social contract to legitimize political power. Coup d'Etats by free officers, even transformed to Socio-political revolutions and popular gains, or hereditary regimes, even with enlightened kings cannot substitute for the social contract. The first is a military take-over, an usurpation of power, the second is a left-over patriarchal and matriarchal historical institution. In this case, the rule of the Divine Law and Divine Sovereignty is the only alternative left in the absence of other legitimacy. At least it is appealing to the

masses, conforming to popular religious feelings and relevant to pious intellectuals. Theoretically, the Divine Law can be a rescue-boat. The challenge is how to apply it, maintaining national goals, popular demands and majority interests. The weaker a secular and dependent political regime become, the stronger religious fundamentalism appears, presen-ting itself as the only, historical and legitimate heir.

3-9 This may lead to the conclusion that many researches and activities calling for non-violence may be politically motivated. The hidden intention may be first to maintain the counter-revolution, preventing any chance for a return to the revolutionary mood of the 1960s, without knowing that this may lead to a second revolutionary generation in the 1990s and 2000s. This has already begun in the Sudanese and Philippines revolutions through civil disobedience. Second, this hidden intention may be to consolidate the counter-revolutionary regimes by reducing to silence all voices of opposition and actions of dissent, accusing them of fundamentalism and radicalism, religious or secular. In both cases, radicalism would go against the interests of the Big Powers and their allied political regimes.

4 - Is non-Violent Struggle a Third Term in the Dialectics between Violence and non-Violence?

4-1 As long as this Manichean situation persists, with its sociopolitical injustice, repressive violence of the ruling minority and liberating violence of the ruled majority, then the spiral of violence continues. In this continuing dialectic, the victory may be one time for repressive violence, a second time for liberating violence, a third

time for repressive violence and so on indefinitely. Insofar as the situation generates that type of Manichean dialectics, there will never be an outcome, never a solution for the permanent opposition between the two opposite sides, never a synthesis between the thesis and the antithesis. No dialogue is possible between the master and the slave, between the oppressor and the oppressed.

4-2 Since any synthesis affirms and negates the thesis and the antithesis, will the outcome of the dialectics between violence and non-violence maintain both in a new elevated form? In fact, the synthesis is not an external, quantitative and composite amalgamation between thesis and antithesis but the reorientation of the course of the dialectic. This reorientation occurs by changing the situation from which the Manichean dialectics emerge and by building a bridge or at least narrowing the distance between repressive violence and liberating violence. Non-violent struggle as a possible third term in the dialectics between violence and non-violence is not a pastoral discourse, a human appeal, a brotherly advice or a religious exhortation. Rather, non-violent struggle is a legal struggle to change the situation which caused violence, a negation of violence by the abolition of its causes.

4-3 Putting an end to the persistence of the status quo of socio-political injustices done to the majority, lower classes, peoples nations and cultures would extract one of the major sources of violence. Maldistribution of wealth inside every society, dictatorial political regimes, displaced peoples and distorted images of other cultures—all have to change for a more equitable distribution of national wealth, narrowing down the differences

between social classes, democratization of political regimes and freedom of expression for all oppressed groups, the rights of peoples for self-determination and an equal share of all cultures in making human history. A social, political, cultural and historical rehabilitation of the wretched of the earth, the disinherited, the underprivileged and the rejected, would prevent a counter-action or reaction of violent self-assertion and self-existence.

4-4 Beginning the process of liberalization gives the silent majority the opportunity for recruitment of angry and dissident individuals and groups, the right to express itself, to expose its grievances and to affirm its existence through utterance. Once Logos (Reason) becomes identical to Ontos (Being), Violent Praxis will not intervene as the only means of expression of human existence as freedom. Violence is a dialogue of the sword, which emerges once the dialogue of the tongue and of the pen stops. Violence is a practical language made of acts to express as well as to communicate, once the verbal language of words is reduced to silence. Expressing the Right would prevent its transformation, in case of frustration, to Power. The Right is expressed according to the Law, while Power is practiced against the Law. Right is not only an alternative to Power, but the true alternative, given the value judgment included in the word Right or Recht.

4-5 Sharing power with the oppressed groups would make them legitimate social groups, rehabilitated within society, instead of considering them outlawed, on the fringes of society. Sharing power will minimize the antagonism of oppressed groups to the political power, since they are a part of it. Sharing power makes the

dissident groups face reality, trying to find solutions for complex problems. Power is a painful burden, not a joyful splendour. Sharing power will satisfy the opposition groups since their major demand was fulfilled, namely having power to implement the law, to change society and to protect it against all evils. Opposition groups, whether from the radical right (religious), from the radical left (Marxist), or from the radical center (Nationalism, Liberalism, Socialism), have a historical legitimacy, even if it varies in depth according to each group. Religious opposition groups have a longer historical legitimacy than the Marxist groups. Nationalist opposition groups also have a larger historical legitimacy than the liberal or socialist groups. The weight of history has to be taken into consideration in the formation of the ruling elite and the constitution of political power.

4-6 Sharing power with all the dissident groups can take the form of a national front or a salvation front. Since all opposition groups are presenting themselves as substitutes for the actual ruling elite, presenting common alternative policies around national independence, social justice, freedom of expression for all, unification of the dismembered entities... etc, it is possible for all opposition groups to rally themselves around common policies regardless of their different ideological frameworks. The difference between secular progressivism and traditional conservatism may not be that great, if secular progressivism finds its grass roots in the Tradition and if traditional conservatism is modernized by facing reality, changing methods of analysis and even renewing its modes of expression. The differences between rival opposition groups are only external (language of expression, method of analysis) or

internal, namely the latent power struggle which is a major factor in traditional societies,

4-7 Theology of liberation is one of the major outcomes of the dialectics of violence and non-violence as a form of nonviolent struggle, since one of the causes of violence is the dichotomy between traditional conservatism of the masses and secular progressivism of the ruling elite. Traditional conservatism, instead of being a source of fundamentalism, repressed by the secular ruling elite, can be a carrier of people's demands and National goals. Secular progressivism, instead of being a repressive political power of the secular minority to the religious majority, can be an enlightened tradition. The reason of revelation and the agent of modernization. A national front cannot be built on the political level if it is not built in advance on the theoretical and intellectual level. Theology of liberation is indeed the national front on the ideological level, between all political ideologies, from within people's tradition or from without. It is not only a political ideology which needs a political party to implement it, but it is already implemented in the mass culture and in people's practices through religious texts, narratives, codes of behavior, mosques, imams, common prayers. It is not very constructive to leave people's tradition as form without content and to leave people's demands as content without form. Theology of liberation would fill the form of people's tradition by the content of people's demands. That is why it is very productive as a major factor in social change.

4-8 The relation of the center to the periphery in the relation between peoples and cultures has to come to an end. Cultures and

civilizations follow a cyclic course in history from Ancient Egypt, China, Persia and India to the Mediterranean and around the Islamic World to Western Europe. Humanity was led by different Cultures in different phases. Only Modern Times are the era of European Culture, a specific phase and a very short period in the long history of human development. It is normal that the modern phase would carry all the accumulated experiences of the previous phases. As a result, modern human inventions will be greater, intensively and extensively. However, that does not give European Culture in its modern era any privilege or preference over previous cultures, since all cultures participated in the making of humanity. The conspiracy of silence around the sources of Western Culture has to come to an end. Putting all peoples and cultures on the same level as equal partners in making humanity would purify the hearts of several dissident individuals, groups, societies and cultures in the periphery, from their deep resentment against Western Culture being placed at the center.

4-9 Learning from history that the outcome of cultures is not only museums and archeological stocks but also peoples, socio-political movements and renaissance would convince Big Powers that reservations, demographic changes, migrations, ethnic minorities, exterminations and annihilations would never put an end to living peoples and cultures. Racism is not a human honour or a value to be proud of. The identity, of an individual, of a people and of a culture is not in blood but in the universalism of the value-system adopted and implemented in history. Peoples and cultures in history swing between ebb and flow. If non-Western people and Culture are not in the ebb, and Western people and Culture are in

the flow. Non-Western people's and Culture were in the flow in the past, while Western people and Culture were then in the ebb. Given the power of history and the overwhelming paradigm of the golden age in traditional societies, the future may reflect another swing. Learning the lesson from history, and changing the practice accordingly, may finally give satisfaction to dissident individuals, groups, peoples and cultures. The complex of inferiority, deep in the self, can be finally resolved once the complex of superiority in the other comes to an end [2].

(٢)For more details, see Hassan Hanafi "On Coercion: The Origin of Violence in Contemporary Islam," Bali, Indonesia, March. 1986.

HOW HOPEFUL A FUTURE?

Islam nowadays is on every man's tongue. Following the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, the revolt in Afghanistan and the revival of Islamic nationalism in Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey and the Arab world, Islam has appeared as the salvation of Muslims and the solution to the social and political problems of Islamic countries. Islam offers the people of these countries self-satisfaction, self-identity and self-fulfilment. Over the last 14 Hijri centuries, Islam has been the inspiration of a culture which, until now, we have been trying to understand, spread and assimilate. This culture embraces the religious sciences like theology, philosophy and jurisprudence; the traditional Islamic sciences of Koran and hadith; the rational sciences of mathematics, physics and astronomy and the social sciences of history, literature and geography.

Translated into Hebrew and Latin, this culture became the leader in the medieval world. Nor was it far away from more modern intellectual movements like the renaissance, the reformation, rationalism, and science and technology. But for the last two hundred years, the Islamic world has been only the passive recipient of a culture to which we were once important contributors, but now without ourselves being creators of culture. The question, then, surely arises: what made us creators of a culture in the past, but only the translators of a foreign culture in the present?(*)

(*) Hassan Hanafi, a leading authority on contemporary Islam, was born in Egypt in 1935 and has been professor of philosophy at the University of Cairo since 1967. Professor Hanafi, who took his Ph.D. at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1966, has been a visiting professor at universities in France, the United States, Belgium and Kuwait, and is =

Islam was able to inspire such a rich, indeed, a glorious culture because its inherent values of reason and freedom informed the spirit of the European enlightenment in the 18th century, some eleven centuries after the birth of Islam.

Indeed, Islam is a religion of reason and contains no mysteries; faith is rational. Reason can prove all the Islamic doctrines, such as the Oneness of God, the creation of the world, freedom of the will, the resurrection, the immortality of the soul and so on. In fact, reason appears in Mu'tazalite theology, which evolved in the 9th century in opposition to the Sunna Ash'ari mainstream, as being identical with prophecy.

Philosophically speaking, reason was counted higher than the imagination of a prophet. In jurisprudence, reasoning by analogy (qias) was a source of law. However, it was the destruction of the rational element through mysticism, started by Ghazall. (1059-1111) in the fifth century of Islam, that was responsible for the decline of Islamic culture. With the rise of reformist movements over the last 200 years, there has been a rehabilitation of reason. This was especially true of the work of Mohamed Abdu (1849-1905). It is now for Muslims to re-affirm Islamic rationalism, and to use reason to free themselves from superstition, magic and pseudo-knowledge.

Reason deals not only with scriptural arguments, but with inquiry into the natural world. The rational analysis of nature is

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= a Fellow of several learned academies of philosophy and religion. At home in Arabic, French and English, Dr. Hanafi has addressed himself to the problems of Islam in contemporary society. In this discussion for Sudanow, he asks if Islam can recapture the dynamism and clarity of its golden age. Sudanow, November 1979.

another demonstration of the existence of God. And since natural laws are permanent, necessary and uniform, Islam is thus a religion of science. It orients human consciousness towards nature; and nothing in nature is denied or abnegated by Islam. So Islam is a religion of world affirmation, with no distinction between the secular and the profane. Matter, the body and so on are all real. This is why Islam is a natural religion, and so reason, revelation and nature are identical. Islam is essentially a humanistic vision. The world was conceived for mankind to live in, and it is in the common interest, not that of the individual, the sectarian or the tribal-that is the basis of Islamic law. Any and every measure that defends the common welfare and prevents common harm is an Islamic measure. It is for this reason that Islamic law is positive law, having its foundation in human life, and not only the expression of Divine will. It is based upon the affirmation of the five necessities: life, reason, truth, honour and wealth. It is now up to Muslims to defend their common interests-those of the poor and oppressed majority, in the name of Islamic law. The call in many Islamic countries for the application of Islamic law, by which is meant only the penal code, is nothing but pure hypocrisy to frighten the masses and to reassure the rich elite in those countries. From the identity between reason, revelation, nature and the common interest flows individual responsibility. Every human being is free, and each human being is responsible. He carries not the sin of Adam nor does he wait for the salvation of Christ. He is born innocent and saves himself by himself, through his own works. Moreover, man's vocation in this life is the realization of the Divine will, the transformation of revelation into an ideal structure for the world. He is equal to all other men. Islamic society is a society of equals. He is,

too, the agent of historical progress. In fact, it was this sharp sense of vocation in the past that brought about the glories of Islamic culture. It is up to Muslims to assume this vocation once again, and for each Muslim to carry this responsibility upon his own shoulders.

The decline of the Muslim peoples after the 5^{th} Islamic century resulted from the loss of these ideals, often to the extent of adopting the contrary ones of irrationalism, blind faith, super-naturalism, inequality, and the class society. Islam, having sueceeded in creating that glorious culture, a culture which continues right up to the present day, gives Muslims on the eve of the 15th Islamic century, great confidence in their future. The ideals that led to Islamic enlightenment in the past can help Muslims to realize their hopes and overcome the problems that have confronted them over the last 100 years: the struggle against imperialism in all its forms, whether political, military, economic or cultural. Ever since the failure of the Crusades, the Christian West has tried to encircle the Islamic world, by what the West calls "geographical discoveries." Then the West tried to hit at the heart of Islam in Palestine by delivering it to Zionism. Since al Afghani(l839-1897) initiated the struggle against Western imperialism, the battle has not ended yet. Islam helps here through its rejection of all forms of sovereignty save that of God. The Jihad worked in Iran and it will work elsewhere. Islam is the best bastion against Zionism and imperialism. Islam prohibits friend-ship (muwalah) with Christians and Jews (ahl al-kitab) except those who are pious, righteous and fearful of God. The rejection in the Koran of the covenant, the promised land and the chosen people, makes Muslims ever steadfast against Zionism and any recognition of the Zionist state.

Islam can also protect Muslims from falling under the domination of capitalism because of Islam's ideals of equity, social justice, the rights of the poor to the wealth of the rich, the right of the state to confiscate and nationalize, and man's right to use and invest but not to manipulate or exploit. These principles make Islam a fitting ideology for the poor and oppressed Muslim majority. The Islamic idea of Shura (democracy) will help the Muslim masses to participate more and more in the democratic process against despotism and dictatorship. The Muslim world embraces much of what are called nowadays "the underdeveloped countries". As Islam in the past was able to build a well developed society, so in the present it can contribute to the development of Muslim countries through planning, the work ethics and mass participation.

After the failure of modern, secular ideologies, nationalism, liberalism, socialism and Marxism, Islam appears as the only suitable ideology for Muslims. Islam is anchored in the Muslim consciousness and needs no extra effort to propagandize it. Moreover, it expresses the hopes and the needs of the Muslim masses for social justice, freedom and independence. Islam can realize the unity of the Arab world, a unity for which Muslim reformers have long struggled. Islam can give the Muslim world long threatened by Westernization its true identity. The Islamic revolution in Iran is an example. It is now for Muslims to respond, if once again they wish to take up their historical responsibility. The goals of the Crusaders, Palestine, Jerusalem, wealth, raw materials and strategic advantage, are still uppermost, added to which are the inherent egocentrism and racism in the depths of Western Christian consciousness.

Our golden age covered almost seven centuries, from the birth of Islam to Ibn Taymiya(1263-1328) and Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406). We then conserved our heritage for almost five centuries more via the Islamic encyclopaedias, dictionaries, commentaries and compendiums. Two hundred years ago we began our renaissance. But now a new wave of imperialism has put a stop to it and is prolonging this stagnation. Despite this, the liberation and the decolonization of the Islamic world got under way.

The superpowers now want to know the secret of the strength of Islam. We have it without knowing it; they know it without having it. It is up to Muslims to learn the secret of their strength and hold fast to it. The beginning of our 15th century may be like the beginning of our 3rd century, our former golden age. We may be on the eve of a new golden age, capable of assimilating invading culture, in this case Westernization, as in an earlier age we were able to assimilate the Greek. We may also be able to unify this center of the world- the Muslim world-as we did previously, and to expand again, taking the Islamic enlightenment to the whole world and playing once again our role of educators of mankind.



HERMENEUTICS, LIBERATION AND REVOLUTION

FROM DOGMA TO REVOLUTION

An Essay to Reconstruct Traditional Islamic Theology

1. General Introduction: From Defense of Sultans to Defense of Peoples

Societies are of two types. The first is the traditional society where tradition remains a source of inspiration, a carrier of value-systems and an argument for authority . Societies in Africa, Asia and Latin America are of this type, where tradition remains the main stream of historical consciousness. In these Societies, development cannot occur without taking into consideration the living traditions which give the masses their Weltschauung and determine their motives for action [(1)].

Any kind of secular development based on human engineering, which aims at changing the infrastructure of a traditional society in order to promote parallel progress in the super-structure will invariably fail. Certain revolutions in the Third world have generated counter-revolutions from within in spite of spectacular socio-economic gains made in the fields of Agrarian reform, industrialization, the public sector, nationalization, sociall-ism, planning, workers rights, nonalignment etc. Traditional beliefs and value-systems remained the same without being subject to a parallel change. Traditions as a historical continuum become a force for cultural conservatism, expanding more and more in width and in depth, so long as troubled secular development suffers setbacks and faces surmountable obstacles.

(1) Resume of "Min al-Aqida ila al Thawra" muhawala li Iadat bina ulm Usul al-Din, 5 Volumes, 1988. Cairo, Egypt, Beyrnt, Lebanon.

The second type of society is the non-traditional society, the so-called modern society, which has already passed through a period marked by the criticism of tradition. In these societies, tradition is no longer regarded as a source of value, nor is it used as an argument for authority. Instead, there are substitute sources of Knowledge and substitute norms of activity such as Reason and Nature. In this regard, historical criticism has become a hallmark activity. This has been especially true of historical narratives. Biblical criticism put an end to the Bible as source for Knowledge of man and nature, and to the Bible as a source of Knowledge for doctrines and beliefs regarding God and eternal life. Europe has been representative of this type of society since the advent of modern times. In the sixteenth century, during the Renaissance, Man and Nature became a source of knowledge through reason and science, replacing uncritical faith in the Bible and the dogmatic authority of Aristotle. The book of Nature, always open, became a substitute for the Bible, which was henceforth closed forever. In the Seventeenth century, Rationalism came to be perceived as the only power inherent in nature, and human free will a primary cause. During the Eighteenth century Enlightenment, Reason exploded and generated new principles of Freedom, Equality and Fraternity. Rational criticism became the bench mark of modern times, in opposition to dogmatism . The idea of progress was equivalent to the idea of Divinity in history "en marche." In the Nineteenth century, positivism reduced everything to material nature, putting an end to both the Divine and romantic concepts of Nature. In the Twentieth century, science and technology became new ideals which came to dominate industrial and advanced societies, culminating in new theories of information.

However, the destruction of tradition and its replacement with new substitutes also ended with its reappearance, after the setbacks which have marked the modern history of the West on one level of Lebenswelt. The modern crisis is particularly evident in the sciences which generated the whole Western Civilizational project. Two World Wars, the threat of a nuclear one, and an overwhelming general crisis, enabled traditions to survive and resurface as an alternative mode of expression. Religious tradition in Western societies also became a carrier of a new wave of socio-political conservatism . The youth still rejecting Western ideals, old or new, finds its way in Eastern traditions.

In certain traditional Asian societies such as India and Japan, new experiences of development are grafted on to a new model based on a parallelism between Tradition and Modernism. Tradition is maintained, neither criticized nor neglected. It is retained as folklore, custom, ritual, habit, language... etc. It serves in defense of identity, against alienation in general and Westernization in particular. The value-system has remained unchanged but its function has changed in both direction and outcome. Loyalty, dedication and sacrifice are the same whether in tradition or in modernism. In Shintoism, the Corporation is a new Emperor. In Buddhism, the seniority system is equivalent to the cast system. Ceremonies in both traditions are conducted in both old temples and in new social activities, in political parties, in academic societies, in social groups, in international conferences or friendly gatherings. Tradition and modernization are juxtaposed, one upon the other, and are not organically unified one in the other. No transformation of values occurs to defend common interests. Tradition is not used as vehicle of protest.

It is possible to conceive a new model of development in traditional societies. Since nothing happens in reality before it happens in consciousness, the reconstruction of historical consciousness, namely tradition, is the way to development. Since historical consciousness is the recipient of tradition and is based on it, the reconstruction of tradition is a possible avenue for social change. Since tradition is still used as an argument for authority by the political power, in the defense of the power-elite against mass interests, why not utilize the same tradition as a counter-weapon against the power-elite in the defense of mass interests? Indeed, every traditional treatise on theology is dedicated to the Sultan who bears the titles of the world. Praise of the Sultan is parallel to the praise of God, while thankfulness to the Sultan is parallel to thankfulness to God. The prophet comes in between, in praise and in thanks, to form an authoritarian triad from which the Creed comes. Does the Creed issue forth from the triad or to justify it, this is the question. Nowadays no development is possible without mass mobilization for the defense of mass interests. In this sense a reconstruction of the traditional belief-system would be undertaken, not to defend political authority, but to defend the interests of the silent majority. A new belief-system, instead of identifying Divine Rights with the Sultan's rights, may be able to function on behalf of the people.

II. Conceptual Framework

The examination of the Traditional belief system begins with the analysis of a conceptual framework on which the belief-system is built. These theoretical beginnings developed from almost nothing until they became everything. In the early stages of

Islam(1st and 2nd centuries), the Creed was based on the authority of the text and the strength of faith. Later on, it developed its own concepts on which the creed could be based (3rd to 5th centuries). Finally, these concepts developed to the extent that they contained the creed itself, the creed being only a point of application for a rigorous conceptual framework (6th and 7th centuries). A conceptual apparatus coherent and identical to faith is the peak of any rational theology. Nowadays (8th to 14th centuries), after the fall of Theology into pure fideism, these Theoretical underpinnings were excised from the Creed as pure philosophical speculations having no relation to theology.

1 - What is a Creed or a Belief-System?

A Creed or a Belief-System is an ensemble of concepts which determines man's perception of the world and gives him motivations for action. It is not a truth existing per-se, which refers to a material thing in the external world, but it is a simple vision of the world and a commitment to it. It is neither a my-stery which goes beyond reason nor a blind and arbitrary decision of the will which supersedes human capacity.

Traditional theology had its historical origins at a time when the core of the Islamic belief-system, namely the Transcendence of God, was attacked by representatives of the old sects and cultures. Islam emerged as a new power victorious on the battlefields, but was attacked from behind as a doctrine and belief-system.

A conceptual framework was conceived in these circums-tances and in the language and categories of that time to defend the main doctrines and to preserve the purity of the faith. An entire

dialectical science was constructed to defend the self as a concept and to refute the other as a counter-concept. Dialectics have evolved from the dialogue of mutual refutation, that is from the dialectics of words, not of the concepts, of the nature, of society or of history. However, Dialectical Theology reveals a deeper socio-political dialectics between the new social and political forces engaged in building a new state and a new phase in history against the old decaying states (Roman, Persian and Jewish). Nowadays, the socio-political context has changed. Islam has been defeated on the ground, on the battlefields during the period of colonization. Nevertheless, the concept and motivation stayed strong and pure. The conceptual framework of early times, which had its origins in classical culture, has been replaced by the new framework coming from modern culture. A reconstruction of the traditional belief-system, to confront the new threats on the ground, must of necessity be reactivated through the use of historically pure concepts.

Dialectics should no longer be comprised of words but rather of actions. The dialects are not those of concepts and arguments between individuals but rather of societies and nations which have conflicting interests. A new conceptual framework must be founded which is relevant to the new task of the reconstruction of theology.

The purpose of this new construction of the traditional belief-system is not to obtain eternal life by knowing the truth, but to acquire success in this World by fulfilling the hopes of the Muslim world for liberation, freedom, justice, social equality, reunification, identity, progress and mass mobilization. Therefore, Theology as a science is of the first importance because it is the theoretical

analysis of action. Behavioral sciences are simple applications of belief-systems. Both are the work of the human mind directed and oriented towards the world by revelation. Theology is not the science of "God" according to the etymological meaning of the composed word "Logos" and "Theos," but it is the science of words (Ilm al-Kalam). The person of God is not subject to science. God is manifested in His word which is revelation. Theology is indeed a science of the word, "Logology". The science of words is the science of inter-pretation, namely Hermeneutics. It is the science of discourse analysis, not only with regard to the pure form of speech but also with regard to the context of speech, its meaning with reference to the world. Revelation being a Divine Intentionality (words sent from God to man), it has a human relevancy. Theology is indeed an anthropology, meaning the science of man both as the intention of the word and as the subject of discourse. It is a human science, not a Divine science. Theology as hermeneutics is not a sacred science but a humanly constructed social science. It reflects socio-political conflicts. Every social group in a believing society has its own interests and defends them through the shared belief-system. This is what is known as Theology.

2- Development of a Belief-System

Every belief-system develops from a combination of sacred texts and interest-groups. First, it begins with a simple use of the new text itself without any effort to theorize. The text itself is an argument for authority without reference to reason. The need for a self-sufficient theory based on the inherent evidence of the text had not yet appeared in the first two centuries of Islam. Second, the

discourse develops into disparate topics without generating a general theme. For instance, Transcendence (Tanzih) and imanence (Tashbih), Unity (Tawhid) and Justice of God (Adl), Faith and Action, all are topics independent from each other with some rational argumentation against the opponents (2nd and 4th centuries. Third, disputed topics are tied up in principles or axes preparing the way for a clear-cut structure . Here, theology reaches its peak as a discipline (5th - 7th centuries). The belief-system reaches a great degree of rationalization. Textual arguments mostly disappear. Fourth, once the rational discipline, along with the powers of creativity in all other cultural and religious sciences, comes to its end, the belief-system, mostly completed, collapses and returns back to its original and primary phase. Faith becomes self-sufficient without understanding or even acting. Belief is maintained as dogma, without rationalization. In this last phase (8th-14th centuries) a Credo is established based on two poles, with God and the Prophet as sterilized dimensions of man and history, memorized by heart and equal to revelation itself.

The inherited structure of the belief-system is divided into two sections: Rational beliefs (Aqliyate) and textual belief (Sam'iyate). The first contains beliefs characterized by the bi-polar categories of right and wrong. Reason can prove the correct doctrines and refute the wrong ones . These beliefs are two: Unity of God and Justice of god. The first reveals God's Essence and Attributes, the second reveals God's Acts, Will and Orders. Unity and Justice of God are rational truths. Consequently they are correct in opposition to polytheism and dualism, in conceiving God, and are also in opposition to injustice which is wrong. God is One and Just. His

Unity is His Universality, Essence and Attributes. His Justice requires human freedom and responsibility for his actions, which implies free and rational man. Since the Essence and the Attributes of God are simple images of the purity and perfection of human consciousness, a rational belief-system comes as follows: Purity and perfection of Ideal consciousness, Freedom and Reason for Real man.

The second section, textual beliefs, are those which depend only on textual arguments, without being based on internal built-in evidence. There are no criteria of with which to judge right and wrong except through the degree of the historical authenticity of the textual argument, apodictic if it is a multi-lateral transmission (Mutawatir) or hypothetical if it is a unilate-ral transmision (Ahad). Contradictory narratives make textual beliefs doubtful in their transmission and ambiguous in their Interpretation. Textual beliefs are comprised of four categories: prophecy, eschatology, faith and action, and finally the Imamate, namely political leadership. Belief in prophecy is not necessary since reason is self-sufficient and can play the role of prophecy. A rational man is similar to a prophet in this regard. Belief in life after death is already a fulfillment of man's Divine vocation on earth. There is already a continuation of life in work. Belief in faith and works, in one or in the other property, connected but usually separated, is a matter left to every individual, since no one can enter in the heart of the other to discern his hypocrisy or sincerity. Finally, political leadership (Imamate) is also a conjectural belief since politics is part of the domain of the power struggle rather than part of the domain of truth. It is a matter of practical utility rather than a matter of ideal rule. This double structure of the traditional belief-system, rational belief and textual

belief, is preceded by two questions: How to know? and what to know? The first is a question about the theory of knowledge and the second about the theory of being. The first concerns the subject and the second concerns the object. The belief-system ends with a conclusion annexed to the Imamate, object of the last article of belief, and related to the right beliefs adopted by the “saved sect,” over and against the wrong beliefs adopted by the lost sects. Concomitant to this is a warning directed to the community to abandon wrong beliefs in favor of right beliefs. The wrong beliefs of the sects are those of the political opposition; the right beliefs of the saved sect are those of the Sultan.

This inherited structure also reflects the old historical setting as well as the classical cultural context. Priority was given to rationality and to the defense of the new faith in the interests of maintaining the Transcendence and Universality of God and the freedom and rational responsibility of man. History whether dealing with the past (prophecy)or the future (eschatolo-gy), was not a problem. The history of the prophets poured into the consciousness of the present and obtained for man eternal life through martyrdom, which is the fulfillment of man's vocation on earth. Faith, action and political leadership were not prob-lems. People had a sufficient faith and motivation to condemn one another and engage in doctrinal wars. History was in the making and scant attention was paid to theoretical problems such as the theory of Essences, Attributes, and Acts of God. Nowadays, the historical setting has changed. Belief in the Unity and Justice of God is sane and safe even without a reactivation. But the Muslim World is lost in history and pushed from the center to the periphery. Prophets do not live in

present historical consciousness. Eschatology is figured outside space and time, not as an earthly future of mankind. Action is dissociated from faith and political leadership has come to be equated with despotism and dictatorship. There is right and wrong in textual beliefs. Theology can develop again (15th century) and continue its effort to rationalize the faith. All beliefs can be rational whether they concern man or history.

3 - Theory of knowledge

Traditional treatises on the creed begin with a theory of knowledge which answers the first question, how to know, before it answers the second question, what to know. The knowing subject proceeds the knowable object. Nothing precedes the knowing subject. There is no need for its proof. Knowledge is necessary to combat ignorance. Certain and universal knowledge works against skepticism and relativism just as rational knowledge works against its counterpart, sensual knowledge. Inspiration is not a source of universal and objective knowledge, but is purely individual and subjective knowledge. Knowledge is of two kinds, natural knowledge and theoretical knowledge. The first is inherent in man with his birth; the second is acquired from the external world. The first is comprised of evidence from the senses, natural reason, or sensory perception. The second is based upon reasoning from accumulated sensory experiences, from feeling or from the very nature of human reason itself. Perception is a source of knowledge in spite of possible illusions. Senses can correct each other at different times and via different persons. Perception leads to the affirmation of the external world. Repeated perceptions become

accumulated experiences through which laws of nature can be known. Reason is also a second source of evidence including axioms, postulates and clear ideas. Reason can deduce from its evidence other kinds of evidence through inference. Both rational evidence and inference are universal and apodictic. Feeling is a third source of knowledge. Emotional evidence can be apodictic such as sensitive or rational evidence. Accumulated emotions can be transformed into habits and customs in human nature, a permanent and universal conformity inhuman experience. Nature itself would then be a carrier of natural light as natural evidence.

Finally comes historical knowledge through textual narrativs, oral or written transmission. Revelation has been communicated to man by this type of knowledge. Narratives are historically authentic if they are transmitted in a multilateral way. However, they cannot be used alone as an argument without being corroborated by sensual or rational evidence. A text is an argument of authority, not an argument of reason. A textual argument would remain hypothetical if it is not corroborated by a sensual or rational argument. It is subject to linguistic interpretations and to amphibological rules such as literal and metaphorical senses, the general and the particular, the precise and the vague, univoque and equivoque, text and context, clear and obscure. Everyone can read in the text what he wants. The quarrel of interpretation is indeed a conflict of interests.

Nowadays, this theory of knowledge is completely cut off from the inherited belief-system. A creed is to be believed in, not perceived or understood. Textual argument is now standing alone as a self-sufficient argument to prove and convince. “God said” or

the "Prophet said" are as commonly used as the old "Aristotelis dixit." The argument of authority is coherent in an authoritarian society. A reconstruction of a theory of knowledge would bring it again to its early period of integration and would permit actual Muslim societies to depend on the perception of reality, direct contact with nature and rationalization of the world. Statics are the language of perception. Analysis of daily experience leads to experimental knowledge. Thinking in reality and reasoning according to sensual data would bring a theory of knowledge once more before its object, namely the external world. Now and then the belief-system can be reopened and released from its seclusion, reorienting itself to the world.

4 - Theory of Being

A theory of knowledge answers the question: is it possible to know? and leads to a theory of being which answers the question, what to know, taking the external world as an object of knowledge. If a theory of Knowledge leads to Reason, then a theory of Being leads to Nature. Any belief-system would thus begin by determin-ing the relationship between Reason and Nature. Although we are dealing here with a belief-system, the object of knowledge is not God or Eternal Life but material Being, that is, the external world. As an object of knowledge, the world precedes God. Only after knowing the world can God be known. The existence of God cannot be proven a priori, but only a posteriori. The only possible argument for God's existence is not the ontological argument, which is subjective and moral, but rather the cosmological argument, which is objective and scientific. Therefore the only possible theology is Natural theology.

Before describing the object of knowledge, namely the external world, Reason finds in itself certain principles which serve as a conceptual framework for the perception of the world. These principles exist between Reason and Nature. They are concepts and Realities, categories and realms, eidos and ontos. They are made manifest, whether as a single concept standing alone, such as Essence, or as double-concepts such as Being and Nothingness, Eternity and contingency, unity and multiplicity, possibility and impossibility. These concepts are chosen to facilitate an expression of religious Weltanschauung based on the traditional dualism between form and matter, soul and body, an equation which finds its solution in God and the world. God is Essence, Being, Unity, Cause, Necessity. The world is existence, nothingness, contingency, multiplicity, effect and possibility. The Essence of God is equal to Existence. He is Eternal Being, Prime Cause and One. The world is simple existence separated from multiplicity and the realm of effects and secondary causes. It is upon this conceptual framework that articles of faith are based. The framework has its origin in the context of classical culture and was developed to defend the realm of Transcendence. But nowadays the cultural context has changed, and classical culture has been replaced by a new culture. The old paradigm has been replaced by a new set of rational principles which came to be adopted by the Muslim intelligentsia. These included progress, development, social change, social justice, revolution, freedom, equality, liberation… etc. It is possible for these principles to be used successfully as a new conceptual framework for a reconstruction of the traditional belief-system.

The most important analysis of Being. However, is accomplished through the theory of substance and accidents. The substance is the material thing which carries nine other accidents according to the ten categories of classical physics. Separate substances however like Soul, Reason, Angel and God are pure forms without matter. Classical physics served as model to explain rationally the appearance of new religious data such as the Angels or even God. Substance can not exist without accidents, and accidents cannot exist with out substance. However, with the theory of Essence, the Attributes and Acts of God had to be defended first. The omnipotence of God had to be shown with respect to Him and His Imperatives. It had to be proven that substance could exist without accidents and accidents without substance, giving way to two conflicting theories, determinism and indeterminism. The first defends science, the second defends faith. If the defense of the faith was necessary in the early days of building up a belief-system, the defense of science is now a necessity since Faith has been consolidated and science abandoned. A scientific view of the world is today a much more urgent requirement than the further consolidation of a religious outlook. A scientific world is more akin to faith than is a religious outlook.

The theory of accidents allows the world to be perceived and known through the categories of quality, quantity, relation and modality. Qualities permit the world to be perceived as phenomena through the five senses. A debate between seeing and hearing, between eye and ear reveals a deeper debate between vision and audition, between figurative arts and acoustic arts, which enable the

perception of reality to be expressed more effectively. The quantified world is the object of geometry (continuous quantity) and of arithmetic (discontinuous quantity). The category of relation allows for the conception of the structure of things in the world. The category of proportion (modality) likewise permits the perception of things with respect to their value to each other. The world is thus perceived according to the classical categories of the ancient world. Since the cultural context has changed, today new categories of perception are used. Since reality is a social construction other categories are found to be more coherent in order to perceive reality and to conceive the world, for example struggle, contradiction, opposition, interaction. If the theory of substance and accidents reflects the polarity between the center and periphery, that is a conceptual framework for the relation between God and the world, the new categories would conceive of the relationship between equal parts on a horizontal rather than a vertical plane of activity, that is, classical categories switched from logic to physics and from physics to metaphysics, and new categories switched from socio-historical and cultural sciences to new theology. Arguments to prove the existence of God begin from the of theory of Being. Once the world is affirmed as substance and accidents it becomes a contingent (Hadith). Contingency leads to the idea of Eternal Being (Qadim), which is God. This cosmo-physical argument has two other forms. The first goes from rational physics to atomic physics. Everything is divided into two parts and each one of these is further divided into two, and so on, until we arrive at the part which is undivided, the atom. Since the atom cannot justify its own existence, it requires something else to justify its existence.

Thus God exists. The second form goes from physics to metaphysics as follows. Everything in this world is possible (Ja'iz). Since the idea of possibility cannot be understood without the idea of necessity, God is thus the Necessary Being. However even from a classical point of view these three arguments fail to prove the Existence of God. All begin with a real description of the world taking into account its contingency, its division into parts, and the possibility of change. But they do not justify the transition from physics to metaphysics, from real description to ideal reasoning, from the thing to the idea. This conversion from one extreme to another, from contingency to Eternity, from division to wholeness, from possibility to necessity, is purely psychological, or morally based on a subjective or ethical assumption that the essence of the world should be different from the Essence of God, or that the Essence of God ought to be different from the essence of the world. The relationship between the two is contradictory, being a relationship of negation leading to affirmation (God). An attribute given to the world is taken away from God, an Attribute given to God is taken away from the world. From Cosmos nothing emerges except cosmic things or the idea of Cosmos, which is a posteriori conditioned by and induced from the existence of Cosmos. There is an insurmountable gap between Cosmos and the idea of God. The ontological argument is much more convincing because it begins with an idea, perfection, and ends with another Idea of the same type, namely God. Even if the sequence were to be reversed, that is, contingency leading to Eternity, division referring back to Totality, and possibility leading back to Necessity, another step would be needed to prove that this Eternity, Totality or Necessity, is God.

If there was a need in the classical cultural context to prove rationally the existence of God aginst atheism, polytheism, dualism and all forms of associationism, there is a need now to put the Unity of God into practice. God is not only a theoretical principle but is also active in the world through individual and social action. The eternity of the world is not separate from its contingency. A contingent world can be eternal through human action if the natural order is restituted to a social order. The totality of the world is not external to it, but rather can be realized through human endeavor by transforming the Unity of God to the unity of the Umma. The necessity of the world is not behind or over it, but it can be fulfilled through human activity and perseverance in the world by constantly keeping the consciousness alive and the affiliation to the Universal principle always present. Briefly God is not an object to be proved theoretically, but an intentionality to be realized practically. Divinity is the passage from logos to Praxis, from Possibility to Reality. God is not Being but Becoming. This may be an effective way to reactivate belief in God in the hearts of the Muslim masses by helping them to realize a parallel trajectory from stagnation to movement, from lethargy to activity.

III. Theory of Essence and Attributes: the Ideal Man

Once the Existence of God is proven, belief in Him is initially related to His Essence and secondly to His Attributes. Both beliefs constitute belief in God as a Universal Principle, namely Transcendence. The Transcendence of God is a descryption of the Ideal Man, the image of man in his ideal state, the projection before him of his own ideal image. The theory of Essence reflects his pure

consciousness, his Cogito, his self perception. The theory of Attributes describes his consciousness as perception of the world, as a more designated consciousness, an awareness of something else, a theory of perceptions and expressions. If the Essence refers to the Cogito, the Attributes refer to the Cogitatum. Both express Divine Internationality in Man.

1 - Pure Consciousness

The Essence of God is that which represents the pure consciousness of man. It can be known rationally by sense perception as pure consciousness. The Essence of God is equal to His Existence exactly as the Cogito in man is equal to his existence. That is why the first description (Wasf) of God is His existence. God exists (Mawjud). He is eternal (Qadim), meaning that he has no beginning in time. Third, He is everlasting (Baqi), meaning that He has no end in time and is Infinite (Sarmadi). Fourth, God does not exist in space. He has no locus (Laisa fi mahal). Fifth, He does not resemble anything contingent (La yushbih al-hawadith) Finally, God is one (Wahid). A world with two gods is inconceivable because their Wills will be one in case, there is an identity of purpose, and in case of a difference of purpose, the fulfilled Will will be that of the True God, whereas the unfulfilled Will will be that of the untrue god. Every one of these six descriptions can be proved rationally like the last one. Every following description is a natural consequence of the prescription that the one God has no beginning and consequently no end. God is not limited in time and consequently is not limited in space. This description of the Essence of God is usually called negative theology because it

describes what God is not in order to purify God's Essence from anthropomorphism (Tash'bih) and to maintain His Transcendence (Tanzih). In later theology, the phase of the formulated Cedo (8th to 14th centuries) negative theology became a part of positive theology which describes what God is . Thus instead of having one description we have two, one positive and one negative. For instance God is Being, not nothingness, Eternal, not contingent, Everlasting not perishable. Pure not existing in space, Transcendent, not anthropomorphic. One not many. Six negative descriptions were added to the six positive descriptions, making a total of twelve. Finally, God cannot be seen either in this world nor in the other world, neither during life nor after death, neither by sight nor through insight, nor by any kind of sixth sense. God is not an object of perception but rather a perceiving subject. Human consciousness cannot be seen, but it is a source of perception. This description of the Essence of God is indeed a mere metaphor based on an analogy between God and man, between the Essence of God and the purity of human consciousness. Nobody is able to know or describe the essence of God. That is why the "mathematicians of theology" (al-Muhandisun fi al Ilahiyate) confessed that the Essence of God can never be known or conceived except by analogy. The via positiva as well as the via negativa find their accomplishment through the via analogia. Man cannot speak of God except through metaphor. Man can only conceive of God according to his own measure. If God created man according to His image, man also conceived God based upon his own image. The Essence of God according to this Universal description is nothing else but the pure consciousness of man. Like the Essence of God, man's consciousness exists: Cogito

ergo sum. It has no beginning and no end in time. Time is quality not quantity, intensity not extension. Consciousness is not situated in space because it is not localized in the brain or in any other part of the human body. Consciousness does not resemble anything else because it goes beyond the etymological meaning of the verb transcendere. Finally, consciousness provides the unity of the human character. It is just when man is not aware of himself that he is transformed to an ideal, an image of himself for contemplation and as consolation. Once man regains his soul, he awakens and brings back to himself his remote essence. An awakened consciousness, individual as well as social, was and still is the purpose of all reformist and social movements.

2 - The Actualized Consciousness

Once the Essence is affirmed as purity of human consciousness it is transformed into perception of the world. Every consciousness is conscience of something. The Essence is manifest in Attribute just as consciousness is awakened through perception. Essence is related to the world through Attributes as consciousness is related to the world through perception.

God has Attributes that are identical to His Essence. The relation between Essence and Attributes is a relation of equation (Mu'tazilites), not of addition (Ash'arites). The first is an option for Justice, the Essence being identical to its attributes which allows for capital punishment and abandonment of love in case the beloved commits an offense. The second is an option for mercy, the essence being distinct from its attributes. This translates into capital punishment and the forgiveness of the beloved in case of a crime committed. The first is

rational and radical, the second is human and lenient. It is up to developing societies to choose which option to read into social and human relations, justice or mercy, radicalism or leniency.

If the Essence of God has six descriptions (Awsaf), His Attributes (Sifat) are seven: Omniscience, Omnipotence, Life, Hearing, Seeing, Speaking, and Will. The first three are less anthropomorphic than the last four. Each subsequent Attribute can be deduced from the preceding one. Science is an absolute beginning in knowledge. Power follows to indicate the necessary connection between logos and praxis. Both are manifestations of life and are conditioned by it. Hearing and sight are two ways of knowledge which express experimental knowledge through the senses. Experimental science is also expressed through heard words (Revelation). Science is not only inward but outward. It involves not only input but output as well, not only knowledge but also communication. Consciousness both receives and gives. Finally, Will means the fulfillment of Power based on experimental knowledge and rigorous science in both human imperatives and natural laws. If negative theology describes what God is not, positive theology describes what God is. The relation between Essence and Attributes is a relation of equation, not addition, in order to preserve the unity of Essence.

However, in late theology (13^{th} to 14^{th} centuries), seven more substantives were added to the first seven attributes in order to further affirm their real existence independently of essence. Thus God is omniscient with omniscience, Omnipotent with Omnipotence, Living with life, Hearing with the ability to hear, Seeing with sight,

Speaking with speech and Willing with Will. When theological development came to an end, negative theology was added to positive theology. The fourteen positive attributes and substantives were converted into fourteen negative attributes which denied that God is not Omniscient with Omniscience, that He is not ignorant with ignorance, and so on. Each of the positive and negative theologies contained twenty attributes, six for the Essence as well as fourteen other Attributes.

Besides positive theology which offered twenty necessary Attributes, and negative theology, which offered twenty attributes detailing what God is not, there are two other possible attributes. God can be seen and He is free, even from his own Will and its manifestation in human imperatives and natural laws. Once the possibility of these two Attributes is realized they can be affirmed (Ash'arites) in defense of spiritual rewards and the Absolute Will of God or denied (Mulazilites) in defense of the impossible transformation of the subject to object of human free will and of natural laws.

Like the Essence describing the pure consciousness of man, Attributes also describe the ideals of man, science, power, life.. etc. Just as the Essence is projected outside man in moments of unawareness and figured as an object. That is, as Attributes in moments when the realization of human ideals is incapacitated, these ideals are also figured and coneretized in fixed images to be contemplated and worshipped. Science represents theoretical reason, power represents practical reason, and life is expressed in terms of both theoretical and practical reason. Hearing and Sight stress

experimental knowledge and its relation to the extemal world. Speech and Will are two external manifestations of knowledge through utterance and the law. All this is a description of man's theoretical and practical powers as expressions of life . Even if man is active and uses his power, they will never be transformed to attributes of an ideal man. If man is incapable of realizing his ideals, he transforms them into inaccessible attributes, unreachable ideals which manifest his lost awareness and which are figured as Essence. His subject is transformed into an object and he then attributes life and its manifestations, science and power, to this object in order for it to come alive. Because of man's death as a subject, he needs to communicate and to express this illusion through divinization and prayer. Divinization of ideals is a substitute for their realization.

This description can also be proven by a simple analysis, along with utterances in positive and negative theology. If I say "God is Omniscient," my statement does not describe a real object outside of me in an indicative mood of speech but rather expresses a desire within me in a subjective mood. It means:

a - I want to be omniscient (an ideal judgment or desire).

b - I cannot be omniscient (a real judgment or fact).

c - I cannot abandon omniscience as a theoretical ideal (moral judgment).

d-Omniscience is the best I can desire (psychological judgment).

e - God is the best I can have and believe in (religious feeling).

f - I describe the best I can have and believe in with the best I can desire (psychological judgment).

G - Therefore, God is Omniscient.

The analysis of negative theology leads to the same conclusion, so “God does not perish” means:

a - I perish (factual judgment based on experience).

b - Perishing is a privation (moral judgement expressed as desire for eternity).

c - God is the best I can have and believe in (religious feeling).

d - I cannot describe the best I can have and believe in with my worst privation (moral judgment based on generosity, heroism and altruism).

e – Therefore, God does not perish

Theology hased on analogy does not need this kind of analysis because it admits from the beginning that one's statements on God are based on their resemblance to man expressed clearly with the articles “such as,” “as,” “like,” “similar to,” “resembling.” Man is describing God, the best he can believe in, based upon his own image of himself and of nature. Theology by analogy reveals anthropological and natural theology. This internal logic is behind our description of God through human attributes. It explains the origin of the description of God but not the origin of belief in God.

This can only be explained by socio-political analysis and the situation of man in the world, whether it be authentic or inauthentic. An authentic situation for man is a situation of worldly struggle in which he attempts to realize his ideals and to fulfil his vocation. An

inauthentic situation is that in which man becomes incapable of action and is reduced to complete impotence. He then falls in to the situation where he glorifies his unrealized ideals and becomes alienated in the world.

If the best a believing society can attain is God and unfulfilled desires, ideals, and hopes such as scientific progress, then Divine attributes such as omniscience and omnipotence can help very well in initiating a process of development. The actual ignorance of the masses can be combated through the category of development. There will be a contradiction between the belief and the actual status of the believer. The impotence of a nation can also be combated through the idea of development, otherwise another contradiction will occur in terms of the belief and the actual status of a believing society. Then Divine Attributes can be reactivated in the hearts and minds of the masses and once more as realizable human ideals.

VI. Theory of Acts (the Real Man)

If the theory of Essence and Attributes reveals the ideal man, the theory of acts reveals the real man, the transference of the ideal into the real. If the first comprises a theory, of Unity, the second creates a theory of justice, the practice of Divine Unity in the realm of human justice, both from the core of the theory of Essence, Attributes and Acts in traditional theology. The theory of Acts contains two beliefs: first, Free Will and predestination, second reason and revelation. Belief in free will and predestination comes first as if the real man is generated through his free will from the overwhelming Divinity. Free will becomes equal to human existence

and even an argument for self-existence separate from the existence of God. Once free will is affirmed, reason appears afterwards as a base for freedom and the creation of a rational free will as the essence of the real man. The existence of Man is not proven rationally, (cogito ergo sum) but practically (poieio ergo sum).

1 - Free Will and Predestination

If man exists through his free will it is impossible to conceive of determinism (Jabr). It would be against the theory of Justice itself. Man can not exist without free will. Free Will is equal to human existence and belief in God is equal to human free will. Man cannot be accountable for his acts in this world or in another world without being responsible.

Responsibility requires free will. Determinism is not only a denial of human free will but it is also a negation of human existence itself, existence being equal to freedom. A middle theory between determinism and free will is also inconceivable because they are two contradictory statements. If a man's life is predestined he cannot be free, and if he is free his life cannot be predestined. Every milieu is closer to one extreme rather than to another. The Ash'arite theory of Kasb, namely that God poses and man disposes, that God creates in man the capacity to act and that man acquires his actions through this capacity, is closer to determinism. Without this Divine intervention man would never be able to perform any action what so ever. Before this Divine creation of capacity before action man is incapable of doing anything. After the action this capacity disappears. It only exists simultaneously with the action. Man is dependent on this external power before action, during action, and after action.

Only a theory of free will would justify human individual responsibility. Man is capable of action. He has the capacity to deliberate upon the potential of an action, during its actual performance, and after its effects. Free actions are internal ac-tions of consciousness, piety or impiety, belief or disbelief, success and failure. They are also external actions in the world carried out by means of the organs of the body. Actions in the world, namely social and political actions, are also free group actions. Society and not God is responsible for human death, for human earnings and for market prices.

However, human free will is intertwined with historical laws which are combinations of human praxis and natural laws. Human freedom is strengthened and substantiated through natural law. Once man's free will, a subjective law, copes with the law of nature, an objective law, action becomes historical. Obstacles encountered during action belong to the objective field of action performed by free will. What is called predestination is not an intervention of Divine Will in human action, which would negate human responsibility and equal opportunity, but an objective field of action. Free will has its "correlation," not in God but in the world. God is not a limit to human free will, rather the world is. Once human free will becomes identical to natural law it becomes absolute. Nature makes man free, that means liberating man from the limitations of the field of action.

In developing societies, only a theory of free will will help in launching a process of endogenous creativity and in mobilizing the masses without waiting for external help, whether via God's Will or Foreign Aid. Many Oppressive laws in traditional societies find their

way to the heart of the masses because they are traditionally prepared for the acceptance of an external will and their obedience to it. The education of the masses for self-reliance and self-dependence, not for predestination or conditioned dependence, is a prerequisite for mass mobilization. Internal saving is much more important than foreign aid. Internal national resources are more important than imported resources. Internal national manufacture is more important than external imported goods. Internal factors in development have absolute priority over external factors.

2 - Reason and Revelation

Man's free will requires his reason. Freedom without reason is blind and irresponsible. Human existence is proven by free will, which requires reason to be enlightened and directed. Reason is the way to know good and bad and to distinguish between them in order to permit free will to choose the good and to abandon the bad. Good and bad (A-Husn Wa al-Qubh) are not ontological categories, an Evil-doer like Satan from whom man inherits his wrong action through original sin. Nor is God a simple Divine which man has to wait for until the coming of a savior. In both of these cases man would be neither free nor rational. He does not have freedom of action nor has he used his reason. Good and bad are likewise not derived from sensual pleasures or pains based upon physical sensations. They are not physiological objects. Good and bad are more equivalent to social utility and harm (al-Naf'a wa al-Darar), individual as well as social, as conceived of through reason. They are two rational categories for rational judgments based upon actions rather than sensations. Acts have in themselves attributes of

goodness and badness. Sacrifice is good in itself and exploitation is bad in itself. Once goodness and badness exist objectively in the form of actions, we conceive of them objectively and universally. Then free will intervenes and decides between them. It chooses the good action and rejects the bad action.

What would be the role of revelation if reason becomes the source of the knowledge of good and bad? Revelation and reason are in accord when dealing with the inherent goodness or badness of actions. Revelation could never contradict a rational judgment. Revealed positive commands such as prayer, fasting, sharing wealth—these are objectively, universally and rationally good. Negative commands such as killing, stealing, getting drunk, insulting, exploiting, doing injustice… etc, these are also objectively, universally and rationally bad. Divine Imperatives are based on material, efficient, and final causes which reason can deduce from the text and can induce from reality. Losing one's reason is the efficient cause for the prohibition of drinking, keeping one's reason is the final cause. Causality and finality are the bases of Divine commands because both are inherent in human actions. In case of a possible contradiction between reason and revelation, reason is maintained and the text is interpreted according to reason. A text, if it is historically authentic, is subject to philological and amphilological principles. A textual argument is hypothetical, while rational argument is apodictic, according to the introductory theory of knowledge.

God is not responsible for evil on earth, not only, because of the theological argument that God is good and nothing evil comes from Him, but also because man is free and responsible for his acts.

Attributing good to God and evil to man is a self accusation and depreciation, and at the same time an expression of altruism, by making the other innocent and the self guilty through sacrifice and heroism. Both good and evil are from man, as results from his actions based upon his free will and independent reason. The good use of reason and of free will leads necessarily to good, and their misuse leads necessarily to evil. Good and bad are neither Divine categories nor physical categories, but are human categories related to human actions.

In developing societies reason can be of great help without depending and waiting for guidance from an external source of knowledge, sacred books or ready-made political ideologies. Reason has priority over authoritarian books including holy scriptures, national charters, ideological books, a green book, or a red book. Fulfillment of Divine Imperatives does not occur through automatic obedience but through complete human awareness on free will and premeditated reason, based upon common interests and social welfare. The traditional polarity between Reason and Revelations fails to include the third element of a tripartite equation: Reason, Revelation and Reality. Both revelation and reason face one common object, which is reality. A perception of reality would be identical to revelation and reason.

V. Divine History (City of God)

If the theory of Essence, Attributes and Acts had revealed the presence of Man as the first pole in a traditional belief-system-no matter whether he be the ideal man (Essence and attributes) or the real man (Acts), all nevertheless belong to the categories of rational

belief (Aqliyat), prophecy, and eschatology. By contrast, faith and action, leadership and revolution are four beliefs revealing History as the second pole in the traditional belief-system and belong to the category of textual belief (Sami'iyat). So Man and History are two modern poles represented by the traditional technical vocabulary of Aqliyat and Sam'iyat.

The study of man is not a monopoly of European culture. What it calls man, historical society would call the perfect man (al-Ensan al-kamil), that means God. History is not a new invention in European culture. Every society has its own feeling for and expression of history. Traditional and believing societies have their own historical consciousness, in the history of prophecy for the past and in eschatology for the future. Narratives in traditional societies play the role of historical education, moral lessons from the past, for example, stories of the community's heroes or of the triumph of justice, historical consciousness of traditional societies. Other stories address victory in the future, the hope for a better life, Immortality, or domination of natural powers. These form another aspect of the historical consciousness, that of the future.

1 - Prophecy or Historical Consciousness

If prophecy were necessary, the knowledge of God and the good would not have been natural, and natural theology which is the basis for the theory of being would also have been impossible. Necessary prophecy is against human reason, which is already an acquisition in the real man (Aqliyat) and which never yields to any other contradictory textual belief (Sami'yat). It would also impose a

permanent tutorship on man which would also contradict his freedom, since Rational belief is the basis of textual belief. This generates the idea that prophecy is unnecessary because of the self-sufficiency of reason. Man is rational before and after the appearance of prophets.

The first option, which holds that prophecy is necessary, sees man as vicious by nature; only prophecy can show him good. The second option, that prophecy is unnecessary, sees man as good by nature. He does not need any external help in knowledge or action (Mu'tazilites and Brahmans). A middle theory tries to combine both, that is the possibility but not the necessity of prophecy. If man can arrive at theoretical truth on his own, practical law requires prophecy. If some distinguished individuals can arrive at the same conclusions as do prophets, the rest of mankind nevertheless requires guidance. Indeed, prophecy was necessary, in the past as a means of educating humanity. It gave an impetus to progress, accelerating the rhythms of the development of mankind. Miracles were used to cause stupefaction and to shake the bounds of consciousness, loosing its ties to matter alone. Once the aim of education is fulfilled, namely the independence of reason and the autonomy of will in the perfect man, prophecy ends and miracles cease. Once the final cause is realized prophecy disappears. In developing societies the accomplishment of prophecy and the end of direct Divine intervention can help in the education of the masses towards independence, without waiting for any external help from outside, a foreign expert, foreign aid or a miracle to solve economic problems. If miracles were considered to be external evidence in the past for the veracity of prophets, it is no longer the case. A piece of external

evidence can usually be discredited as an illusion and consequently, falls outside the realm of belief. On the contrary, internal evidence convinces people and leads them to believe. Many prophets performed miracles and although some believed in them the majority did not. The highest miracle, "God made incarnate," did not make people believe. A miracle after all, is a disturbance in the laws of nature. But once prophecy accomplished its purpose, that is, laying bare the independence of reason and the autonomy of human will, the laws of nature can not be broken. They are necessary and action must conform to laws. Man can know them by his reason and subdue them to his will for his benefit. Man is the master of universe. Since the demise of prophecy there has been nothing to replace it, neither inspiration, nor visions, nor insight, nor dreams. Likewise, magic, superstition, signs, Karma, all have ended with the demise of miracles. Every individual depends on himself, both in knowing and in action. Every man has his own creativity, based on his own individual experience. He has his own capacity for action, according to the degree of the assimilation or integration of his ideals. What we call miracles are the unexpected deeds performed by men dedicated to their purposes in life. Heroes perform miracles in this metaphorical sense. Thus a miracle can be a wonderful literary piece, challenging human powers of creativity, no matter, whether they be in literary form or in an ideological context. The purpose of a challenge is to help human powers to create and to invent.

However, what matters in prophecy is not the person of the prophet or the source of his prophecy, namely God. This is prophecy on a vertical axis. What matters is prophecy as something delivered, for example, a delivery in history from the prophet to the second

generation, from the second generation to the third and so on. This is prophecy on a horizontal axis, prophecy in history as a relation between men. The four qualities required in the prophet, Truthfulness (Sidq), Communication (Tabligh), Honesty (Amana), Intelligence (Fitna), all aim at an authentic transmission of revelation. The transmission of prophecy in history can be oral or written. In both cases it is speech which needs to be analyzed and understood before it is practiced and fulfilled as an ideal structure in the world.

2 - Eschatology or Theology of Hope

Eschatology, in traditional societies, represents the future of the world. It is a natural continuation of prophecy. History begins in the past, continues in the present and ends in the future. Since events happening in the after life cannot be seen in this life nor told about by those who are already there. Since no one is able to came back and tell what he saw, the only source of knowledge is prophetic narratives interpreted as metaphor, or as an analogy between the unseen and the seen.

After the body is buried in the grave, life continues. The body is still sensitive and the soul is still present. A good soul begins to receive beforehand its reward of food, drinks, pleasure, social life with angels, fresh air from an open window, light, a wide living space with extended walls, with an easy interrogation by angels examining his faith and his creed. In contrast, a bad soul also begins to receive beforehand its punishment: hunger, thirst, pain, isolation, stinking air, suffocation, darkness, narrow space with walls that shrink, cracking bones, tortures from insects and reptiles, with a severe examination of his faith and creed. The last judgment

already begins in the tomb since the body is still tender and alive before decomposition. Those who succeed will already receive their reward. Those who fail will be subject to punishment. Waiting until resurrection may be too long for the believer to receive his reward and for the unbeliever to receive his punishment.

Will the final reward and punishment arrive outside this world or inside of it? According to the doctrine of the transfiguration of souls, or metamorphosis, reward and punishment occur in this world. A good soul will return back to an agreeable human body and a bad soul will return back to an animal body. But such a doctrine denies individual responsibility because it is the same soul which is always coming back once it is rewarded and may once again be punished. There is only one type of reward and punishment, according to the type of body, human or animal. Individual resurrection, although a metaphor, maintains individual responsibility. Resurrection begins from bones, especially from the last ring at the bottom of the vertebral column. It is the place where the sperm, the source of life, is gathered. All parts of the body decompose, except this part which resists decomposition.

After resurrection, final judgment begins. The judgment includes a different sense of justice: a court, attorneys, the accused, witnesses, testimonies, indices, defense, accusation, and judges. More figured scenes are represented by the balance (Mizan), the symbol of justice, and the basin (Hawd), from which believers awaiting the verdict drink and unbelievers do not, the path (Sirat) on which half-believers and half-unbelievers walk to their final destination, be it reward or punishment. Once the verdict is uttered,

the reward is found in Paradise and punishment in Hell. Paradise is full of trees, shadows, fruits, drinks, fresh air, sweet water, honey, rest and calm. Hell, on the contrary, is full of burning flames, pains, thirst, starvation, cries, suffocations, changing skin for more burning, and noise. Eternal reward or eternal damnation is debatable. Since God is the only Eternal Being, Paradise and Hell will perish one day, otherwise they will share Eternity with God. If eternal damnation is inhuman, the damned may leave for paradise, which is more coherent with respect to the Divine Bounty.

What matters in eschatology are not these material facts,which are merely images, but their meaning and signifi- cance. Every eschatology is indeed a theology of hope. In this world justice usually does not have the final word. Those who commit injustice are left unpunished, and those who practice justice are punished. This is the whole story of the "suffering believer." The afterlife means that justice will have its final victory, and a compensation will be made. In the after life, the Law of Merit (Qanun al Istihqaq) will be universally applied. If that law has been broken in this world man acquires eternal life by his actions. Everyone receives a type of reward or punishment according to his actions, without intercession (Shafa'a) or promise (Bishara). Every action generates a consequence of the same kind.

In developing societies, eschatology can strengthen the planning of national consciousness, preparation for the future, and long range vision. Eschatology is an archaic type of modern futurology.

VI. Human History (City of Man)

If prophecy and eschatology represent Divine history in which God intervenes by sending prophets carrying his revelation and by bringing back the whole world to Him for final judgment, then human history is represented by faith and action, by leadership and revolution. If prophecy is related to the past, and eschatology to the future, then faith and action, leadership and revolution, are related to the present. The function of the past is to pass on accumulated experience to the present, while the function of the future is to give hope to the present. The present is the temporal pivot on which past and future are based. Divine history pours into human history, human history being the final realization, in the present, of Divine history. Whereas prophecy and eschatology refer to the general history of mankind, man (faith and action) and the state (leadership and opposition) refer to a particular history of a determined community.

1 - Faith and Action

What is faith? Is faith only knowledge, knowledge of the Essence, the Attributes and the Acts of God, even without feeling it, expressing it in words, or transforming it into praxis? Faith as knowledge alone is simply empty knowledge and is much less than what revelation requires as motivation for action.

Faith as a combination of knowledge and feeling alone is internal, since they are two dimensions of the internal world of consciousness. However consciousness is external as well as internal. Knowledge and feeling cannot be kept contained inside consciousness because their realization and expression in words

and actions comes naturally through the power of exteriorization. Can faith be knowledge, feeling and words alone without action? Are words one form of expression, a sufficient exteriorization of the internal world? A word is a form of utterance just as action is another form of the word. Logos and praxis are two faces of the same coin. A simple exteriorization of the word would lack a backing of the word by action. Therefore a perfect and complete faith is that which contains knowledge and feeling, word and action. It can be strong or weak total or partial.

In developing societies, the unity of national character is a problem. Separation or fragmentation of these four dimensions of the diffusion of energy is a common practice. Separation of inward energy, knowledge and feeling, from its external manifestations, word and action, has became a national characteristic. One thinks and feels something and says and does something else. This separation usually generates external acclamations without internal conviction, which leads to national stagnation and sterility. It may also generate an underground movement in support of a continuing national commitment. A long period of oppression causes such a split mentality and double behavior within the nation.

Another kind of separation between knowledge and feeling may exist. Here, one knows something without feeling it or feels something without being able to know it and to bring it out to the surface from subconscious to consciousness. This is the case in the transfer of external knowledge that does not come from living experiences and endogenous creativity.

The most common separation is the third one, that between words and actions. One says something and does something else.

This separation usually generates a certain kind of national hypocrisy. Thus, according to a national dictum: “Tell the ruler whatever he likes to hear without putting it into practice.” This political dictum began from a proverb criticizing the separation between words and actions in the behavior of religious leaders such as "Hear the words of the sheikh and leave his actions" or "I hear your words and admire them, but I see your deeds which astonish me.” Thereby, the unity of the national character in the form of an open and declared political opposition, and massive mobilization against underground movements and mass lethargy cannot be realized.

What matters in faith is not only its form of expression but its content, faith in what? The traditional belief-system expresses the content of faith in six articles: God, Angels, Books, Prophets, Last Judgment, Fate and Predestination. This content indeed repeats some previous theories. God in the theory of Essence and Attributes; Fate and Predestination in the theory of Acts; God, Angels, Books and prophets in the theory of Prophecy. But why not conceive a context of faith which is more concrete and visible, for example: liberation, which is the function of Divine Unity in human consciousness; freedom, which is the antipode of fate and predestination; reason which is the counter part of revelation ; and the external world which is the field of human action?

2 - Leadership and Revolution

The last belief in the traditional belief-system concerns political leadership, namely the state, a direct political belief. However, it is considered not to be inherent to the belief-system. Rather it was only added to it according to customary practice in

treatises on creed. It is a part of legal science (Fiqh) and of practical sciences, not of the doctrinal and theoretical sciences. It is a part of (furu') not of (Usul). Making the political issue the last of the articles of belief, and not a necessary one inherent to the creed, may actually be the cause of mass lethargy and stagnation. Considering the Imamate as inherent to the belief-system and equal to the first belief, Unity of God (Shi'ites), offers a belief-system that may reactivate the masses politically and help in their mobilization.

Is leadership in society impossible, necessary or possible? The idea that leadership is impossible is based upon the premise that man is good by nature and that he therefore does not require leadership. But this is a utopian vision which is negative in that it presuppose the essentially oppressive nature of political leadership over and against the inherently good and free nature of man. On the other hand, considering leadership as necessary because man is bad and vicious by nature is a self-defeating and pessimistic vision of man, based upon a positive concept of leadership as a means to correct corrupted human nature. This then becomes a genuine justification for political authority. Leadership in society is possible since man does not live alone and needs the work of others as others need his work. Leadership is then a spontaneous and natural element in the formation of social groups.

The Imam is not a Divine person nor the spirit of God. He is neither designated by name nor by description in revealed texts. He does not belong to a special family or tribe (Quraish) between the Imam and the community. In so far as the Imam fulfills the terms of the contract from his side, through the application of the law and

the defense of the interests of the masses, stipulated in the Intentions of Revelation (Defense of Religion, Life, Reason, Honor and Wealth), the community is obliged to realize the terms of the contract from its side and owes the Imam its obedience.

However, general conditions of the Imamate as an impersonal function are stipulated in revelation, for example, Justice and Power. The Imam must commit himself to apply justice inside the community, among the believers, and to defend the community against foreign invasions. Other conditions complement the first two, such as knowledge and piety. Knowledge permits the Imam to deduce laws and to take wise decisions. Piety makes him an example of conduct for his community, the last to eat, the last to drink, the last to dress and the last to dwell, to achieve domestic comfort. Other conditions are customary. For instance, the Imam must be Muslim, an Adult, male and free. Islam is a natural result of knowledge and a condition for the application of law. A non-Muslim is not as knowledgeable in Islamic law, nor as eager to apply it as a Muslim.

Adolescence is a condition of perfect reason and the assumption of responsibility. Freedom is an old customary condition ever since slavery was practiced as historical institution. If a slave becomes an Imam his obedience to the master may contradict his obedience to the law. An Imam has one loyalty to the law, not a double loyalty to the Master and to the law. If the Imam were female, she would not be able to engage in a double loyalty, to both her husband and the Umma. The negation of family and tribal affiliation as a condition for the Imamate may end all royal and

hereditary political regimes, extending the candidacy to others without being restricted to small elitist groups or chosen circles.

If the Imam fails to fulfill his duties and realize the terms of the contract from his side, the scholars of law, who elected him can begin a process of public, legal or violent control over him. They can begin by advising the Imam (Nasiha), reminding him of his duties. They can command the good and warn him against doing bad and forbid the evil according to their Islamic duty as scholars (Al-Amr bi al-Ma'ruf wa al-Nahy'an al-Munkar). If these peaceful means are not effective and sufficient, the high judge, although appointed by the Imam in the beginning of his term, can dismiss him. If he does not obey and abide by the judge's verdict, a mass and violent revolt against him becomes necessary. His removal by force becomes a religous duty for every Muslim. Such a role given to the scholars of law makes the law the real source of authority, that is, it establishes the rule of law. The Imam represents only the executive power, not the legal or the judiciary power. The real ruler is the law, not the Imam.

However the whole doctrine of the Imamate in the traditional belief-system concentrates on the person of the Imam, his character, his nomination, his election and his removal. The personification of politics in the Imam is similar to the personification of the world in God. In developing societies, the personification of the political regime in the person of the leader, creating a personality cult, may have its origin in this article of belief. On the other hand, a stress on both peaceful and violent means of control, on the importance of institutions such as the Judiciary, and on the religious education of

the masses, may strengthen the basis for political opposition and encourage the masses to revolt against oppression.

The realization of the imamate in history augurs its gradual corruption into a kingdom. The Imamate immediately after the prophet's death was called the khalifate and was, at that time, the peak of history represented by the Rightfully guided Khalifate (al-khilafa al-Rashida). The four first khalifs were the ideal type of Imams. Afterwards the Imamate degenerated into a kingdom based on the usurpation of power and the destruction of the opposition, imprisoning or killing these who offered advise (Nasiha) or who ordered the commanding of the good and the forbidding of evil, the duties of the Muslim religious scholar.

The gradual fall of the Imamate into a kingdom is parallel to the gradual moral decline of subsequent generations after that of the prophet. So the best is the early generation and the worst is the present generation. The first generation of the prophet's companions (Sahaba) is higher in rank than the third generation (Tabi'i al-Tabi'in). So, generations are gradually declining in merit so long as we go forward in time. History is getting worse, not getting better. Such a vision of history makes every movement of progress a reaching back to a golden age, a lost paradise in the past. Progress is accomplished through retrogression, not progression. But if prophecy in history is a progressive factor working towards perfection through the autonomy of the will and the independence of reason, why should political leadership acquire a different destiny regressing headlong into history towards growing corruption, from prophecy to Imamate and from Imamate to kingdom?

VII. Conclusion: From Doctrinal Divergence to National Unity.

The traditional belief-system ends with description of history as a passage from unity to diversity, from convergence to divergence, from one creed to many creeds. This primary and original unity is righteous, while the secondary and posterior diversity is wrong. This occurred in human history, in accord with a previous model in Divine history, even before prophets, when the original unity of the human soul was rendered into a duality after Satan refused to bow down to Adam as God had ordered, since he believed that his own creation from fire was superior to Adam's creation from clay. In the first model, the result of this wrong reasoning through analogy, and disobedience through protest is the source of the lost unity, and the beginning of diversity in the first model. In Theology, seen through the second model, the early unity of the belief-system was destroyed due to Reason and Protest, as if the independence of reason and the autonomy of will were not signs for the accomplishment of prophecy and the perfection of man!

The righteous creed is represented by the "saved sect," but wrong creeds are represented by the "perished sects." Since the community is divided into seventy three sects, all of them are lost except the one which is saved. The righteous saved sect is the one in a position of authority, while the wrong lost sects are those cast in opposition. A belief-system is not a simple doctrinal option, but is adopted by a sect (Firqa), a political power whether it be in authority or in opposition. There were three kinds of opposition: underground, working from within (Shi'ite), above ground,

working from the outside (kharijite), and those working above ground, from within (Mu'tazilite).

Takfir was used as a political weapon to discredit political opposition and to isolate it from the masses. The entire belief-system finds its origin in the power struggle between the ruling power and powers of opposition. The main doctrine in the belief-system comprising the theory of Essence, Attributes and Acts, is conceived to justify absolute power. Absolutist theology, linked to the Omniscience and Omnipotence of God, is a political tool used to strengthen political absolutism, that is, the absolute political power of the Imam. In this way, religion in developing societies plays the role of political ideology in developed societies.

The belief-system of the opposition took root within in the same power struggle and deepened its opposition, using the same doctrinal weapons. According to the secret opposition from within (Shi'ites) God is man, the leader of the oppressed community. He is the Messiah (Mahdi) who will appear at the end of time to destroy the rule of injustice and replace it with the rule of justice. God and the Imam, the first and the last articles of belief in the traditional system are here the same. The Imamate is the continuation of prophecy and its fulfillment. Man gains knowledge from the Imam through inherited and transmitted knowledge. Man's highest action is therefore obedience to the Imam. According to the open opposition from the outside (kharijite) or from within (Mu'tazilite), God is the universal and Rational Principle. His Attributes are human ideals to be realized on Earth through human action. In this way man is free, rational and responsible. Action is the only true

expression of faith. A free election of the Imam, through consultation (Shura), regardless of his family or tribe, is the prototype of the doctrines of opposition. The theory of Unity (Tawhid) is based on the theory of justice (Adl). Divine Unity is impossible without human justice.

The political crisis nowadays remains the same. The ruling power uses Absolutist Theology to maintain itself. The Opposition forces, however, are not using a belief-system of opposition. Instead, they utilize either secular ideologies of opposition such as Marxism, Liberalism, Socialism, or Nationalism, or they employ the same Absolutist Theology as the ruling power itself. Each one anathematizes the other, authority against opposition, opposition against authority and the opposition fractions against each other. National unity is lost in the name of political divergence. The doctrine of Unity finally ends in the de facto practice of political disunity.

Once the political origin and outcome of the traditional belief-system becomes known, it will be possible to strengthen the opposition forces defending the mass interests of a traditional society by educating the masses about the belief-systems of the opposition. Since secret opposition from within is not feasible given the absolute power of the state through its intelligence, arms, secret police, and mass media, the religious establishment, conservative forces, educational institutions, the army, and since open opposition from outside is ineffective due to its peripheral nature (separated from the masses and easily accused of working for foreign powers) the only possible vocal opposition is that which comes openly from within. It challenges political power through reason before the masses, using legal channels of communication. It operates legally because it

utilizes legal religious duties such as the giving advice to order the good and prohibit the evil, having recourse to the judiciary against the highest political authority in the state.

The Islamic belief-system is capable of serving as a tool for national unity, providing for pluralism on the level of theory and a unified program of action on the level of Praxis. Different conceptual frameworks and their build-in belief-systems, beliefs such as Essence, Attributes and Acts of God, Transcendence and Immanence, Freedom and Predestination, Reason and Revelation, Faith and Action… etc, would not prevent a convergence on the major issues of the time, such as liberating the land from occupation, freeing Muslims from oppression, realization of equality, social justice against poverty and exploitation, fulfilling hopes for reunification against partition and the imposition of artificial boundaries, defending identity against alienation, especially westernization; participating in progress and development against backwardness and underdevelopment, and finally mobilizing the masses against lethargy and stagnation in order to transform the quantity of their numbers into quality of action. An Islamic revolutionary blueprint which can be agreed upon through community consensus, regardless of differences in theoretical frameworks and doctrinal belief-systems, can help all traditional societies switch from dogma to revolution, and to effectuate a process of social change through continuity. A renewed past and a realistic perception of the present would bring to traditional societies a hopeful future.

THE REVOLUTION OF THE TRANSCENDENCE

1. Introduction

1-1. Contrary to the general and common idea that Islam etymologically means submission, surrendering, servitude or even slavery, this paper tries to prove just the opposite, that Islam is a protest, an opposition and a revolution. The term Aslama, in fact, is ambiguous. It means to surrender to God, not to yield to any other power. It implies a double act: first, a rejection of all non-Transcendental yokes; and second, an acceptance of the Tanscende-ntal Power. Islam, by this function, is a double act of negation and affirmation. This double act is expressed in the utterance "I witness that there is no god except the God."

1-2. This ambiguity of the verb Aslama and the noun Islam has been intentionally misused to tilt Islam on one of its sides, namely that of submission. Afterwards, the submission to the ruler is substituted for the submission to God, once the individual consciousness is psychologically oriented to submission. The intention of this study is to show the other aspect of Islam, intentionally hidden, namely the rejection, the opposition and the revolt, taking into consideration the actual needs of the Muslim Masses. Since any religion, including Islam, is anchored in society, it takes on the societal shape, social structure and political power of the society in question. The ambiguity of the word Islam is consequently

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a reflection of the dual sociopolitical structure of society: Islam as both submission to the political power and the upper classes, and as revolt by the ruled majority and the poor classes.

1-3. Therefore, by concentrating the double-meaning of Islam on only one of the two meanings, submission or revolt, one is not realy engaging in disinterested research for the sake of formulating a theory, but is rather involved in the choice of a practical option, whether to defend the status quo of political regimes through the interpretation of Islam as submission, or to initiate a socio-political change against the status quo by interpreting Islam as revolt. The conflict of interpretations is not a theoretical, scientific and purely academic conflict, but rather a power struggle between the ruling elite and the upper classes interested in the continuation of the status quo on the one hand, and the ruled majority and the poor classe interested in social change on the other hand. This study on the revolution of the Transcendence is not only a theory but also a practice. It is a part of the research which is taking into consideration the actual state of the art in Islamic Studies.

1-4. The term "Transcendence" is used instead of the term "God". The term "God" has been so often used with different meanings, concepts and usages that it has became unoperational, whether it be in everyday expression or in scholarly communication. It is fully loaded with conceptions and misconceptions through the repetition of its common usages, supported mostly by Dictionnaries and history of religions textbooks. On the contrary, the term "Transcendence" is less loaded with misconceptions and can be used more easily in expressing and communicating any new

idea such as the other meaning of the word Islam, namely, revolt, rejection, opposition and revolution. The term “Transcendence” is non-anthropomorphic, impersonal, rational, universal, non-theological, and non-sectarian. It can be understood by all rational human beings. It is a common experience in all religions. It expresses a human experience, common to every one, going always beyond the limits of given situations.

1-5. The revolt of the Transcendence can be understood by everybody, irrespective of his religion, his sect or his ideology. Although the case of Islam is specific, it can be generalized and extended to all other cases through asking the famous question: is religion the “opium of the people” or the “sigh of the opressed”? Is the “Perception of Desirable Society” a wishful thought, an alienation from the real world, or is it an alternative ideology for the status quo, an active plan for the future? The Transcendence can then be a dialogue, a theme not only in regard to religion, but also between religions and philosophies. It offers a common ground for interreligious as well as intercultural dialogue.

1-6. Selection of Sources

Only primary sources have been used to substantiate the theoretical underpinnings of this study. The Qur’an is the first source of Islam. The Hadith is a secondary source. For a third, Islamic disciplines include theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, and mysticism. Because traditional studies on Islamic political thought have been based primarily on theology, the result has been that the doctrine of the Imamate or jurisprudence, the qualities, the nomination and the replacement and restoration of the Imam, may

have tended to concentrate on speculative argument and legal reasoning at the expense of the Qur'an. The “Revolution of Transcendence”, therefore, restores the Qur'an as its primary source. Content analysis of scriptural arguments is relevant to the phenominalogical description of the meanings as essences in living experiences. Exhaustive references make scholarship an end in itself. A simple, clear and evident description is sometimes more persuasive than mere accumulation of marginal notes.

2 - The Autonomy of Reason

1-2. The Transcendence is a reality that can be conceived of by Human Reason. Any affirmation beyond human reason is impossible, since an affirmation needs to be understood by reason and expressed in words. The Transcendence is not an arbitrary decision of the Will expressing a personal faith or a group choice. The Transcendence has no particularities or preferences contrary to its Universalism. The Transcendence as an act of the soul or of pure feeling is not enough as an act of cognition. A feeling is a common human experience generated in situations, while the meaning is the universal essence of these experiences, understood by human reason. That is why communication between individuals, mutual consultations and converging views are possible [(1)]. Reflection on revelation, nature and human destiny would lead to the Transcendence as an overall reality transpiring everywhere. The Transcendence is not an external and visible object to be reflected upon by a subject, but the whole of Reality including the object and the subject together.

(1) The Qur'an uses the motto "Don't you reason?" 19 times, "in order that you may reason" 8 times, and "if you reason" twice.

2-2 Reality and Transcendence

Therefore the Transcendence is a demonstrable reality, as Reason is a demonstrative faculty. Demonstration is the link between Transcendence and Reason, between Objectivity and Subjectivity. This demonstrable Truth and demonstrative Reason formed one element in Islamic classical logic, namely, "the negation of the undemonstrable." Only the demonstrable can be the subject of a logical affirmation or negation. Here Demonstration is equal to Reality. Epistemology is identical to Ontology. Revelation itself is called demonstration, not a dogmatic affirmation of a simple decision of an Absolute Will. A demonstration is an act of reason, not a wishful thought. It is binding for the individual and for the society. It can include several proofs. Consequently, Monotheism can be proved and polytheism disproved. A demonstration is not only a rational formal argument, but a concrete sign. It has its practical implication in the reorientation of human action according to the universal rule of reason (2).

(2)The word demonstration (Burhan) appeared in the Qur'an 8 times. "O mankind! Verily there hath come to you a convincing proof from your Lord. For we have sent unto you a light (that is) manifest" (4:174). Those are their (vain) desires. Say, "Produce your proof if you are truthful" (2:111); "And from each people we shall draw a witness and we shall say: Produce your proof. Then shall they know that the truth is in God (alone) and the (lies) which they invented will leave them in the lurch" (28:75); "Or have they taken for worship (other) gods besides Him." Say, "Bring your convincing proof." (21.24); "(Can there be another God besides God?" Say: "Bring forth your argumentation if you are telling the truth"(27:64); "If anyone invokes, beside God any other god, he has no authority therefore and his reckoning will be with his Lord" (23:11); There are two credentials from the Lord to pharaoh =

2-3. Once the Transcendence is conceived of by Human Reason, it leaves its fingerprint on it. The conceived Transcendence becomes a Reality for Reason. The Transcendence becomes the main function of Reason. Etymologically, Transcendence is from the verb Transcendere, which means "to go beyond". Therefore, Human Reason can never stop in reasoning, formulating or exploring. There is no final word on anything. This is to protect reason against dogmatism and fixity and to motivate it to the perpetual advancement of learning. There are no limits, neither for Reason to know, nor for reality to be known. However, dogmatism may come out of imitation of the ancestors or human passions and desires (3).

= and his chief" (28:32); "And (with passion) did she desire him, and he would have desired her, but that he saw the evidence of his Lord" (12:24).

(3) The word "fathers," with the three adjective pronouns"Our," "Your," and "their," is used in the Qur'an 64 times especially with the pronoun "our" to indicate the imitation of the Past as a source of dogmatism. "When it is said to them: follow what God hath revealed," they say: "Nay, We shall follow the ways of our Fathers." What! even though their fathers, were void of wisdom and guidance" (2-170); When it is said to them: Come to what God hath revealed; come to the Apostle, they say: Enough for us are the ways we found our fathers following. What! Even though their fathers were void of knowledge and guidance" (5:104); When they do ought that is shameful, they say: We found our fathers doing so, etc." (7:28); They said: Hast thou come to us to turn us away from these ways we found out fathers following." (10:78); "Behold, he said to his father and his people, what are these images to which ye are (so assiduously) devoted? They said, We found our fathers worshipping them"(21:53) They said: But we found our fathers doing thus (what we do)" (26:74); "Nay!They say: We found our fathers following a certain religion and we do guide ourselves by their footsteps" (43:22); "Just the same way, whenever we send a Warner before the to any people, the wealthy ones among them said: we found our fathers following a certain religion and we will certainly follow in their footsteps" (43:23).

2-4. Since Transcendence is a Knowable Reality and since Reason is a Knowing faculty, there is no room for systematic skepticism, agnosticism, relativism or nihilism. Methodological doubt, the rejection of past knowledge, the limits of previous formulations, all are permissible in order to go beyond the spirit of the time, the language, the scheme, the image of a historical period, and the necessities of practical life in given situations. This infinite progress in human knowledge is motivated by a desire for a better and more accurate knowlege of the knowable reality and is based on confidence in human reason. Indefinite divergency is a negation of truth [(4)]. Conjecture is not certainty. Indefinite conjectures are not alternatives for certainty. Hypotheses do not spare science. Conjectures are related to passions and desires, while certainty is a dictum of human reason [(5)].

2-5. Reason is not formal and abstract, but is linked to experiences and to the concrete analyses of data. Reasoning is only one of its functions. The Testimony of the senses, perceptions, and living experiences are aspects of human reason. That is why Transcendence is the basis not only of mathematical sciences,

(4) “Had those who differ therein are full of doubts with (no certain knowledge) but only, conjecture to follow (4:157); "But we are really in suspicious(disquieting) doubt as that to which thou invitest us" (11:62; 14:9; 34:54; 41:45); “They are in doubt and uncertainty there advent. They are blind thereunto" (27:66). The word conjecture is used 69 times.

(5)“They follow nothing but conjecture" (6:116; 6:148; 10:66). “They follow nothing but conjecture and what their own souls desire" (53:23); "But most of them follow nothing but fancy. Truly fancy can be no avail against truth." (10:36); But they have no knowledge therein. They follow nothing but conjecture, and conjecture avails nothing against truth" (53:28).

infinitesimal calculus and Universal Ethics, but is also the foundation of the natural sciences, based on experiences and observations of nature(6).

2-6. Finally, the Transcendence is equal to the freedom of thought. The revolution of the Transcendence appears in Human Reason as a rejection of the two opposite failures, dogmatism and skepticism, thereby making room for constant research into a focal middle, a converging point of the two extremes, Solvitur in exclesis(7). The Transcendence is the convergence of the Ideal and the Real in human reason and via human action. The Transcendence is the life of the soul and the history of Reason.

3 - The Order of Nature

3-1. The Transcendence appears in Nature as a concrete manifestation. The Transcendence as an image is reflected in Nature as a mirror. Transcendence and Nature are two aspects of the same reality, the seen and the unseen, the visible and the

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(6) The word Reason (Aql) and its derivatives are mentioned in the Qur'an 49 times, 5 times linked to the senses, especially hearing and seeing: "They will further say: had we but listened or used our intelligence (67: 10); "The parable of those who reject faith is as if one were to shout like a goat-herd, to things that listen to nothing but calls and cries; deaf, dumb and blind. They are void of wisdom" (2:171); "Nor be like those who say: "we hear but listen not. For the worst of beasts in the sight of God are the deaf and the dumb, those who understand not" (8:21.22); "Among them are some who (pretend to) listen to thee, but canst thou make the deaf to hear, even though they are without understanding. And among them are some who look at thee, but canst thou guide the blind, even though they will not see" (10:42-43); "Or thinkest thou that most of them listen or understand? They are only like cattle; Nay, they are worse astray in path" (25:44).

(7) 'Thus have we made of you an Ummat, justly balanced, that ye might be withesses over the nations (2:143).

invisible, the known and the unknown, also described by philosophers as the sensible and the intelligible, the concrete and the abstract, the material and the formal, the particular and the general, the individual and the universal, the Real and the Ideal. The unseen is not only the concrete present but also the expected future. The unseen is not only the invisible but also the unknown. The unkown is even much more important than the known in inciting human reason to further exploration of the unknown world [(8)].

3-2. Since the Transcendence is the realm of Eternity, Nature is likewise. Natural laws conform and are permanent. Wisdom and Providence require a "livable" Nature with determined laws. Everything in Nature follows its natural order. The order is a manifestation of the Will. Etymologically, the word order or just measure (Aqdar) is from the same root as the word power (Qudra). The world is created according to the just measure. The link between Qadar and Quadra is Taqdir which means the creation of the world according to the just measure(Miqdar) [(9)].

All natural phenomena duly follow natural laws, such as appear in the movements of the stars and the planets [(10)]. Also,

(8) The World is described in the Qur'an as the World of the Unseen (Ghaib) and the seen (Shhada) 10 times. The World Unknown (Gaib) is used alone 54 times.

(9) The word qadar appears in the Qur'an 7 times, such as “Verily, all things have we created in proportion and measure" (54:49); “Every single thing is before his sight in due proportion” (13:8).

(10) “And the Sun runs his course for a period determined for him... and the moon we have measured for her mansions (to traverse) till she returns like the old (and whithered) lower part of a date-stalk. It is not permitted to the sun to catch up the moon, nor can the night outstrip the day. Each (just) swims along (its own) orbit (according to Law)" (36:38-40).

history is an amplified form of Nature, which follows its own determined laws. Nature is the history of things, and history is the nature of societies and Nations [11].

3-3. Nature reflects the Transcendence as life [12]. The life cycle in Nature is a manifestation of the Transcendence, a passage from life to death and from death to life as a continous process[13]. Reasurrection

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(11) The word Sunna, which means law, is mentioned in the Qur'an 16 times (13 singular and 3 plural). The Qur'anic motto is "No change will thou find in the practice (approved) of God" (33:62; 35:43; 48:23); or 'No turning off wilt thou find in God's way (of dealing) (35:43; 17:77). "Many were the ways of life that have passed away before you. Travel through the earth and see what was the end of those who rejected Truth." (3:137).

(12) The word life (Hayat) and its derivatives are mentioned in the Qur'an 190 times. The cycle of life and death appears in many verses such as: He said "Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die, but from it shall ye be taken out (at last)" (7:25). 1t is he who gave you life, will cause you to die, and will again give you life" (22:66); it is he who brings out the living from the dead, and brings out the dead from the living, and who gives life to the earth after it is dead. And thus shall ye be brought out (from the dead)" (30:19); how can ye reject the faith in God? Seeing that ye were without life, and he gave you life. Then will he cause you to die, and will again bring you to yourself. Further, he has provided for your sustenance; then he will cause you to die, and again he will give you life" (30:40).

(13) "1n the rain which God sends down from the skies and the life which he gives therewith to an earth that is dead". (2:164) "And God sends down rain from the skies, and gives therewith life to the earth after its death" (16:65); "And the fact that God sends down sustenance from the sky, and revives therewith the earth after its death…"(45:5); And if indeed Thou ask them who it is that sends down rain from the sky, and gives life therewith to the earth after its death, they will certainly reply, God!"(29:63); "A sign for them is the earth that is dead. We do give it life" (36:33); "And we send down pure water from the sky that with it we may give life to a dead=

is a victory of life over death [14]. The cycle of life and death is not only in man but also in Nature, as in the passage from dryness to water, from yellow to green, from the desert to agriculture, from the failing rain to the growing trees, the blooming desert, whether naturally or through Man's labour all are signs of Transcendence.

3-4. Nature is an "ensemble" of signs (Ayat), referring to the Transcendence. Nature is not denuded of significance. The signs are the link between Nature and the Transcendence. The natural sign is a concrete indicator referring to the Transendence. Heavens and Earth are full of such signs: the sun, the moon, the stars, the lightning, the winds, and the clouds. The natural sign can be spectacular, in order to strike the senses and cause astonishment. It becomes a "miracle," an overwhelining presence of Nature, invading the senses and inviting man to think with his reason. The previous prophets, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, used such

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= land..." (25:48-49). "And he sends down rains from the sky and with it gives life to the earth after it is dead" (30:24;30:50).

(14) The word sign (Ayat), with its derivatives, is used in the Qur'an 382 times. The natural sign appears in: "And how many signs in the heavens and the earth do they pass by? Yet they turn (their faces) away from them" (12:105); "Verily, in heavens and the earth there are signs for those who believe" (453); "On the earth are signs for those of assured faith" (51:20). 1f (such) were Our Will, We could send down to them from the sky a sign to which they could bend their necks in humility" (26:4); "A sign for them is the earth that is dead. We do give it life, and produce grain therefrom, of which I do eat" (36:33); "And in change of the winds are signs for those that are wise" (45:5); "And among his signs, he shows you the lightning, by way both of fears and of hope .." (30:24); We have made the night and the day as two (of our) signs. The sign of the night have we obscured, while the sign of the day we have made to enlighten you." (17:12).

signs as manifestations of Divine Power[15]. The purpose of the sign is to stimulate man to think and to infer[16]. A sign can be also a symbol, indicating the realm of the Transcendence, an eschatological sign referring to another world[17]. Finally, the Quranic verse is itself a sign coming from the Sender indicating his presence and bringing the whole world to him again [18].

3-5. The vocation of man on Earth is to work and fulfil God's message. Nature is good and Man is also good. The message is to preserve the good by human effort, keeping the identity between Nature, goodness and perfection. The Transcendence is a process initiated by human action. That is why the revelation is a direct call for action, and action is a manifestation of faith. Faith without action is Form without Content, Word without Deed. It is also a manifestation of individual responsibility. It generates its reward according to the law of merit [19]. Action involves male and female

(15) "But we saved him and his companions of the Ark and we made the (Ark) a sign for all peoples" (29:15); In order that we may show thee (Two) of our greater signs" (20:23); "then after them we sent Moses with our signs, to pharaoh and his chiefs, but they wrongfully rejected them" (7:103); "And We sent Moses with our clear (signs) and an authority manifest" (11:96. 14:5; 40:23).

(16) “Verily in this is a sign for those who give thought" (16:11; 16:69); “Verily in this is a sign for men who celebrate the praises of God” (16:13); “Verily in this is a sign for those who listen” (16:65); “Behold, in this is a Sign for those who are wise" (16:67).

(17) "He said" 0 my Lord: Give me a sign. Thy sign was the answer, it shall be that thou shalt speak to no man for three days but with signals" (3:4; 10:10).

(18) “These are the signs of God. We rehearse them to thee in truth" (2:1523:108); "this is what we rehearse unto thee of the sign, and the message of wisdom" (3:58); These are verses of the Wise Book" (31:2).

(19) The word deed Amal and its derivatives is used in the Qur’an 346 times. The direct call for work is such as "And say: work (righteousness; soon will God observe =

alike, one criterion for all human beings as individuals [(20)]. The Good Deed, which is the highest form of action, is not only a moral act related to the goodness of the doer, but also a real productive action in the world. The action is not only introverted but also extroverted, not only an expression of the piety in the soul, but also a necessity in practical life for production [(21)]. Action is the only legitimizing device for sovereignty on Earth. It is behind the birth of nations. Once action disappears, nations fall [(22)].

3-6. Nature as whole is an eschatological sign leading to the future of the world, and corresponds to a deep human desire for Eternity. The Transcendence is a breakthrough in time as a natural component in life. The present is the time for action, the past is the time of accumulated experiences, and the future is the time of consequences and results. The Transcendence is a continuous movement in time, past, present and future through human action. All

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= your work and his Apostle and the believers" (9:105); works are connected to faith about 70 times. "Who is better in speech than one who calls (men) to God, works righteousness..."(41:33); "Then shall anyone who has done an atom's weight of good see it! And anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil shall see it" (99:7-8).

(20) "Whoever works righteousness, man or woman, and has faith, verily to him will we give a new life, a life that is good and pure… " (16:97); "And he that works a righteous deed, whether man or woman, and is a believer, such will enter the Garden (of Bliss)." (40:40); "If any do deeds of righteousness, be they male or female, and have faith, they will enter Heaven and not the least injustice will he done to them" (4:124); "`Never will I suffer to be lost the work of any of you, be male or female... (3:195)

(21) "Whoever works righteousness benefits his own soul. Whoever works evil, it is against his own soul" (41:46, 45:15); That they may enjoy the fruits of this (artistry). It was not their hands that made this" (36:35).

(22) "And made you inheritors in the earth, so that He may try you by your deeds" (7:129); "And we made you heirs in the land after them, to see how ye would behave!" (10:14).

consequences of human actions in the future are the results of present actions [23]. The Transcendence, as a vision of the future, is a strong motivation for man to look for what is permanent and everlasting [24].

4 - The Centrality of Man

4-1. The revolution of the Transcendence appears in man as the centre of the Universe. Everything is human. He is not a particular man belonging to specific geopraphical area or to an ethnic group but is man as such, the Universal Man. He is the perfect man, the knowledgeable man. The greatness of man is in his perfection and knowledge [25].

4-2. Man has been created in the image of God Himself. He shares with him Attributes such as Science, Power, Life, Hearing, Seeing, Speaking and Willing. These Attributes may be understood literally with respect to Man and metaphorically with respect to God or vice versa, that is, literally with respect to God and metaphorically with respect to Man. In spite of this identity of image, there is nevertheless a distinction in partnership. Man is the only interlocutor of God. God spoke to Man. He sent him revelations via the prophets, his fellowmen. Man is the focal intentionality of God. God without Man is like objectivity without subjectivity, Ontology without Epistemology, Reality without

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(23) "But those who are blind in this world will be blind in the Hereafter, and most astray from the path" (17:72).

(24) "But best is the home in the Hereafter, for those who are righteous" (6:32).

(25) The word Man (Insan) is mentioned in the Qur'an 65 times in the definite singular (Al-Insan). “We have indeed created man in the best of moulds." (95:4); “Thought man that which he know not" (95:5). "He has created man. He has taught him speech and intelligence" (55:2-3).

Reason. The God-Man relationship is a perfect model of the Object-Subject relationship (26).

4-3. Man is created out of nothing and the whole world has been created for him (27). Although man is created from earth, from clay, from congealed blood, from sperm and from water, he can transcend his material creation to the Transcendental world (28). Man is the king of the Universe. Nature has been created for him. Nature is subservient to him. He can discover its laws and reflects upon them for his benefit. Sun, Moon, Earth, Sea, Day and Night are all subservient to Man (29).

4-4. Man has a double existence, fragile and solid. He is at the same time weak and strong, miserable and great. The weakness of man is not only physical, but essentially psychological. Man thinks

(26) This meaning appears in many hadiths mentioned by the mystics, such as "God created man in his image and resemblance"; "I was a hidden treasure. I wanted to be known. I created the World. Through him, they know me. The first thing God created is Reason..."

(27) "But does not man call to mind that we created him before out of nothing" (19:07); Has there not been over man a long period of time, when he was nothing (not even) mentioned?" (76: 1).

(28) "Man We did create from a quintessence (of clay)"(23:12); He who has made everything which he has created most good. He began the creation of man with (nothing more than) clay." (32:7); "We created man from sounding clay, from mud moulded into shape (15:26). "He created man from sounding clay like unto Pottery" (55:14); "Doth not man see that it is We Who created him from sperm..." (36:77); "verily, we created man from a drop of mingled sperm." (76:2); "He has created man from a sperm-drop..." (16:4); "...created man out of a (mere) clot of congealed blood" (96:2); "Now, let man think from what he is created. He is created from a drop emitted, proceeding from between the backbone and the ribs." (86:5-7).

(29) The word sakhara, which means "to be subservient to," is mentioned in the Qur'an 22 times. All are used in the same meaning. See H. Hanafi, Human Subservience of Nature, Stockholm. Sweden, 1980.

of God only in time of danger. After danger is eliminated, God is forgotten. But the Transcendence has a permanent presence, not only in times of distress but also in comfort. When the danger is overcome, man attributes this sucess to himself and forgets his previous invocations. Is man so ungrateful? Man is happy when he receives something good but he becomes unfaithful and ungrateful when something bad occurs to him! Certainly man is ungrateful and unjust [(30)]. Man is also avaricious, scared, arrogant, tyrannical, hasty, dialectical, suspicious, and impatient [(31)]. He is limited by his emotions and desires.

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(30) “For Man was created weak in flesh" (4:28); "when trouble toucheth a man, he crieth unto Us (in all postures), lying down on his side or sitting, or standing. But when we have solved his trouble, he paseth on his way, as if he had never cried to Us for a trouble that touched him" (10: 12); "when distress seizes you at sea, those that you call upon, besides Himself, leave you in the lurch! But when he brings you back safe to land, and you turn away from, him most ungrateful is man”(17:67); "Now, when trouble touches man, he cries to Us. But when We bestow a favour upon him as from Ourselves, he says: This has been given to me because of a certain knowledge I have" (39:49). "Man does not weary of asking for good (things) but if ill touches him, he gives up all hope (and) is lost in despair. When we give him a taste of some mercy from Ourselves after some adversity has touched him, he is sure to say: This is due to my merit (41:50); "When Wet bestow favors on man, he turns away and gets himself remote on his side (instead of coming to Us). And when evil seizes him, he comes full of prolonged prayers" (51:51). "And truly when we give man a taste of a mercy from Ourselves, he doth exalt in it, but when some ill happens to him, on account of the deed which his hands have sent forth, truly then is man ungrateful” (42:48); we give man a taste of mercy from Ourselves, and then withdraw it from him. Behold! He is in despair and (falls into) blasphemy" (11:9). “Verily, man is given up to injustice and ingratitude" (14:34). Truly, man is a most ungrateful creature!" (27:66); “Truly man is a blasphemous ingrate avowed" (43:15).

(31) “For man is given to hastiness" (17:11); "Man is created from haste" (21:37) "For man is (ever) niggardly" (17:100); "But man is in most things contentious" (18:54);=

4-5. However, Man is also great. His greatness appears in his free will, efforts, work and perseverance. Man is productive. He strives, struggles and even suffers pain. Life is a test, a trial. Man is capable of passing it successfully, given his reason, his intelligence, his work and his perseverance. Through work and effort man can be saved (32). Therefore, the Transcendence is not only a theory but it is also a practice. The Transcendence is not only an Idea, a Principle or a Universal Rule but also a real structure for the individual and for society. Life is a challenge and man has accepted it freely, given his powers of reason and his free will (33).

4-6. Man is individually responsible for his acts. The word Insan, which means man, is always a singular. Man cannot be added to another man to form a plural. Human being (Ins) is also a

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= It was We who created man and we know what dark suggestions his soul makes to him" (50:16). "Truly, man is created very impatient" (70:19); "Nay, but man doth transgress all bounds" (96:7),

(32) "Every man's fate we have fastened on his own neck" (17:13); "That man can have nothing but what he strives for." (53:39); "0 thou man, verify thou art ever toiling on towards thy Lord, painfully toiling, but thou shall meet Him." (86:6); Verily, "We have created man into toil and struggle" "Verily man is in loss, except such as have faith and do rightneous deeds and (join together) in the mutual teaching of truth and of patience and constancy" (103:2-3); 'That day will man say: Where is the refuge" (75:10); 'That day will man be told (all) that he put forward and all that he put back (75:13); "Nay man will be evidence against himself (75:14)

(33) The challenge is metaphorized in the Qur'an as the Devil. "For Satan is to man as avowed enemy" (115; 17:53). "Like the evil one, when he says to man: deny God. But when man denies God, the evil one says: I am free of thee. I do fear God, the Lord of the World" (49:16); "We did indeed offer the Trust to Heavens and Earth and the Mountains, but they refused to undertake it, being afraid thereof. But Man undertook it."

singular generic term [34]. The term Unas, which means a group of people as a specific entity, having an individual option in life, is the plural of Insi which means an individual human being. The group can behave individually in a distinct way, different from other groups. Every group has an individual leader who is a responsible witness[35]. However, this accute individual responsibility is the very basis of solidarity. Man is a member of a larger community. The word human being (Insan) comes from the verb Anasa, which means to be familiar with, to be compasionate towards, and to share one's feelings with. Man can familiarize himself with things, through his perceptions [36]. The highest form of sympathy is with one's parents as if they were equal viz man's relationship to God [37].

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(34) The generic term Ins is used in the Qur'an 19 times by opposition to another generic term Djin.

(35) The term Unas is used 6 times. "Every group knew its own place for water"(2:60,7:160); "Indeed men who want to be clean and pure" (7:82, 27:56); "One day, we shall call together all human beings with their respective Imams"(17:71).

(36) The verb Anasa is used in the Qur'an 7 times, 3 for human beings and 4 for things. "If ye find sound judgement in them, release their property to them"(4:6); "0h ye who believe, enter not houses other than your own, until ye have asked permission and saluted those in them." (24:27); "And when ye have taken your meal, disperse without seeking familiar talk." (33:53); "Now, when Moses had fulfiled the term and was travelling with his family, he perceived a fire in the direction of Mount Tur", (28:92). The same usage in 20:10, 27:7; 28:29.

(37) "We have enjoined on man kindness to parents" (29:8): "We have enjoined on man kindness to his parents. In pain did his mother bear him and in pain did she give him birth." (46:15); "And we have enjoined on man (to be good) to his parents. In travail upon travail did his mother bear him, and in years twain was his weaning. Show gratitude to me and to thy parents." (31:14)

5 - The Egalitrarian Society

5-1. The revolution of the Transcendence appears in society for the implementation of social justice and the foundation of an egalitarian society. Transcendence means universal equality between all individuals in the same society. The Universality of the Transcendence is the prerequisite for the equality of individuals. The Unity of the Transcendence is the foundation of the affiliation of all individuals to One Principle. The Unity of the community is the reflection of the Unity of God (38).

5-2. Since ownership is one of the main reasons of inequality, the affiliation of man to the Transcendence would protect him from holding something as private property. The World cannot be owned. It belongs to the Eminent Ownership of the Transcendence. The World, including Man, is in the realm of Being, not of Having. Ownership is only a social function. Man is only entrusted with what he has. What he has is only a trust or a deposit (39). Man in relation to things has the right to use, not to misuse, and to invest, not to capitalize, to develop not to monopolize. If he violates this, the legal authority in the community representing the common interests has the right to confiscate, to depossess and to nationalize.

5-3. Modes of production related to common welfare cannot be individually owned. They belong to the public sector and include such things as agriculture, industry, and mining (40). All that comes

(38) "And verily this brothershood of yours is a single brotherhood and I am your Lord and Cherisher" (23:52, 21:92).

(39) "And spend out of the (substance) whereof He has made You heirs" (57:7)

(40) This is the famous prophetic tradition, "People, share three things: Water, Grass and Fire"

from the Earth, beneath or above, such as raw materials, cannot be privately owned.

5-4. National Wealth cannot be left in the hands of a few persons. Wealth must circulate among all individuals belonging to the same community [41]. The Social Order will collapse in any society where there is a palace towering over a neglected well[42]. The poor have a right in to the wealth of the rich, not as simple charity left to individual assessment and piety, but as a legal right in the name of the Transcendence. The inequality between rich and poor is contrary to the unity and the universality of the Transcendence.

5-5. The egalitarian society is a society without classes. A society based upon an upper and a lower class is against the Transcendence. It is a society without rich and poor, nor satiety and hunger [43]. Hunger is something substantial in life, not merely an accident [44]. The revolt of the Transcendence is against fear[45].

(41) What God has bestowed on His Apostle (and taken away) from the people of the townships belongs to God, to this Apostle and to kindred and orphans, the needy and the wayfarer; In order that it may not (merely) make a circuit between the wealthy among you."(59:7)

(42) How many populations have we destroyed, which were given to Wrongdoing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many wells are lying idle and neglected and castles lofty and well-built'?" (21:45)

(43) "Be sure We shall test you with something of fear and hunger, some loss in goods or lives or the fruits (of your toil)..." (2:155); "God set forth a parable: A city enjoying security and guilt, abundantly supplied with sustenance from every place. Yet, was it ungrateful for the favours of God. So God made it taste of hunger and terror..." (16:112)

(44) Hunger is mentioned in the Qur'an 5 times, 4 times as a noun and one time as a verb. This means that hunger is substantive, not merely accidental.

Hunger is a punishment, while satiety is a reward. Hunger and satiety are symbolized by Hell and Paradise(46). Hunger is also coupled with nudity as an image of extreme poverty and misery. Hunger, fear, lack of funds, lack of agriculture and fully realized development all are components of underdeveloped societies. All are signs of damnation and Hell.

5-6. Work is the only source of value. Work means effort, energy and sweat. No surplus value is admitted. That is why usury is absolutely prohibited, since usury is earning without effort. Money does not generate money. Capital increases only through human effort. Interest (Riba) is also prohibted for the same reason (47). Commerce is not interest, since commerce implies effort and energy. Charity is simply the opposite usury, as giving is the opposite of taking (48).

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(45) "Let them adore the Lord of this house. Who provides them with food against hunger and with security against fear" (106:2-4).

(46) "Then We said: 0 Adam! Verily, this is an enemy to thee and thy wife. So let him not get You both out of the Garden so that thou art landed in misery. There is therein (enough provision) for thee not to go naked" (70:117-118); "No food will there be for them but a bitter dhari which will neither nourish nor satisfy hunger" (88:7)

(47) The word (Riba) is mentioned in the Qur'an 8 times. The prohibit 5 times, such as "Oh, ye who believe! Fear God and give up what remains of your demand of usury, if ye are indeed believers" (2:278); 0h ye who believe, devour not usury, doubled and multiplied. But fear God, that ye may (really) prosper" (3:130); "That they took usury, though they were forbidden. And they devoured men's substance wrongfully."(4:161)

(48) Those who devour usury will not stand except as stands one whom the Evil One by his touch hath driven to madness. That is because they say: Trade is like usury. But God has permitted trade and forbidden usury." (2:275); "God will deprive usury of all blessing, but will give increase for the deed of charity," (2:276)

6 - The Rule of the Law

6-1. The Transcendence appears in society as an application of the Law (Shari'a) to give the individual and the society a formal structure through the State and its Institutions. The revolution of the Transcendence occurs every time human power becomes an absolute authority and a source of legislation. God is Ruler, the Sovereign and the Judge [(49)].

6-2. Since Law is not man-made, but Divinely given, it is impartial, universal and objective. It can be applied in any time and in any place and for any community [(50)]. It is something similar to the universal declaration of human rights, combined with another universal declaration, that of People's rights. The Universal Intentions of the Law, according to classical Jurisprudence, are four:

First, the affirmation of the common interests and welfare of all individuals and societies, including the rights of food, clothing, shelter, work, security and peace. In case of any apparant opposition between the textual law and the concrete common interest, the textual law yields. The law is not an end in itself, but only a means for the realization of individuals and peoples' welfare.

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(49) "If any do fail to judge by what God hath revealed, they are unbelievers... The wrongdoers... those who rebel... " (5:44-45, 47). Truly, God has judged between his servants" (40:48); The Command rests with none but God. He declares the truth, and he is the best of judges" (6:57); "Is not his the Command?" (6:62); "The command is for none but God." (12:40; 12:67).

(50) 'We have sent down to thee the book of truth, that thou mighttest judge between men as guided by God." (4:105); "Let the people of the Gospel judge by what God hath revealed Therein." (5:50); "And this, judge thou between them by what God hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires" (5:52).

Second, the common understanding of the Law by all men is a condition for its implementation. The understanding of the law, its purpose and intent, its different modes of application and its capability of realizing human welfare, make its application a free choice and a responsible and accountable act.

Third, the assimilation of the Law makes it a part of human activites. The objectivity of the Law becomes a part of human subjectivity.

Fourth, the application of the Law is an individual and societal commitment. It is the belief-system put into practice (51).

6-3. The Law is not a formal Law, but a positive one based on the analysis of the human condition and the structure of human behaviour. Human action is contextual. It is based on reasons, causes and motivations. It is either realized easily and normally, or else suspended because of difficulties and hindrances.

It can be radical and absolute in an ideal form. It can also be adaptive and relative in a practical form (52). Since all human actions are motivated, only intentions can validate actions and cut short all possibilities of casuistics. Therefore, the penal code is not

(51) These four intentions of the revelation called the intention of the Legislator are greatly expounded by al-Shatibi in Al-Muwafaqat.

(52) In many verses, necessities are recognized. "But if one is forced by necessity, without wilful disobedience, nor trangressing due limits, then is he guiltless." (2:173; 6:145; 16:115); “But if one is forced by hunger with no inclination to transgression, God is indeed forgiving, most merciful.” (5:4); “Why should ye not eat on which God's name hath been pronounced, when he hath explained to you in detail what is forbidden to you except under a compulsion of necessity?" (6:1-19).

formal, regardless of the situation. Punishment per-se is not intentional but is only an application of the Law of Merit, and this in two ways: reward for good deeds and punishment for bad deeds. Rights are given before duties are requested. Individual sacrifices may preserve the common welfare. Capital punishment generates life for the whole community [(53)].

6-4. Since the State and its Institutions are the manifestation of the Transcendence in society, no human power, namely, political power, can present itself as an absolute power. The Transcendence is the origin of authority. Sovereignty comes from the Law, which is a manifestation of the Transcendence. The Ruler is not God's representative. He is only chosen by the community to implement the Law. Whoever is knowledgeable, capable, just and honest can be the Ruler. He is neither a king to convey his kingdom to his posterity, nor an usurper, coming to power after a coup d'etat [(54)].

6-5. In case the Ruler becomes a despot, the revolution of the Transcendence protects individuals' and peoples' freedom. Since the Ruler has been chosen to implement the Law, any intentional

(53) "In the law of equality there is (saving of) life, to you, 0h ye men of understanding" (2:179).

(54) In the Qur'an, there is a radical rejection of kingdoms and Tyranies. "She said: kings when they enter a county, despoil it, and make the noblest of its people its meanest. Thus do they behave" (27:34. The word tyrant is mentioned in the Qur'an 10 times, such as: Thy intention is none other than to become a powerful violent man in the land" (28:19).. "And when ye exert your strong hand, do you do it like men of absolute power." (26:130); "And following the command of every powerful, obstinate transgressor" (11:59).

failure to assume his duties will elicit a response from those who are knowledgeabe in the Law, the intellectual vanguard of the society, through the regular sermons of the Friday prayers, and through open and vocal condemnation. If the Ruler continues his obstinacy, he is officially reminded by the practice of the legal device, Ordering the Good to be done and preventing evil from being done, through direct confrontation between the Scholars and the Ruler. If he still continues his negligence or disobedience, he is then declared as unfit to rule by the judiciary, the high judge. If he is still in contempt of the Law, a mass revolt led by, the scholars, the guardians of people's rights, is launched aiming at his complete removal form office (55).

6-6. Therefore, the scholars of the Law are the real guardians of the city. They are the educators of the people and the conscience of the rulers. They can denounce the tyrants and mobilize the masses. Their words are substantiated by their deeds. Their ideas correspond to their feelings. The revolution of Transcendence is a revolution of Thought, of knowledge and of Science (56).

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(55) The word advice is mentioned in the Qur'an 13 times, such as “I gave you good counsel, but ye love not good counsellors" (7:79); “I gave you good counsel" (7:93). This is also substantiated by the Hadith “Religion is the good advise". Ordering to do good and preventing from doing evil is a legal office in Islamic institutions, based on well-known Qur'anic verses such as: "Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong" (3:104); “Ye are the best of peoples, evolved for mankind, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong." (3:110) 3:114, 7:157; 9.71; 9:112; 22:41: 31:17).

(56) Is it not a sign to them, that the learned of the childern of Israel knew it?" (26:197); "Those truly fear God among his servants, who have knowledge" (35.28).

7 - Progress in History

7-1. The revolt of the Transcendence is continuous in history. Since man first existed on Earth, the Transcendence was equal to his individual consciousness and to the social order. All the prophets revolted against the status quo in the name of the Transcendence. All future revolutions will also be launched, directly or indirectly, in the name of the Transcendence. Prophets did not only preach the revolutions but they also led them. They enter into the political struggle and take the side of the poor, the oppressed and the wretched of the earth (57).

7-2. The function of revelation was to liberate human consciousness from the yokes of the natural and socio-political orders. The Power of the Transcendence is greater than the power of Nature or of the Tyrants. Individual consciousness will be elevated, deepened and strengthened by the Transcendence. Affiliation to the Transcendence is unique and exclusive. The first act of faith in Islam is an utterance, a recognition that there are no other gods than the only true God (58). The prophet is this individual

(57) "How many of the prophets fought, and with them, large bands of godly men? But they never lost heart if they met with disaster in God's way, nor did they weaken nor give in" (3:146); "Whenever we sent a prophet to a town we took up its people in suffering and adveristy, in order that they might learn humility"(7:94); "Apostle, rouse the believers to the fight..." (8:65); "0 prophet, strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be firm against them" (9:73; 66:9)

(58) "It is not (possible) that a man, to whom is given the Books and wisdom and the Prophetic Office, should say to the people, Be ye my worshippers rather than God's. On the contrary (He would say): Be ye of worshipers of him who is truly the cherisher of all. For ye have taught the Book, and ye have studied it earnestly. Nor would he instruct you to take angels and prophets for Lords and Patrons..." (3:79-80).

consciousness freed from the collective consciousness, which has and become autonomous and free. Those who believe with him in God are likewise individual "consciousnesses" aligning themselves with the group [(59)].

7-3. All prophets struggled for the change of the status quo, toward a better and more ethical socio-political order. Lot faught homosexuality, Abraham struggled against idolotry, Moses strived for the liberation of his community from political oppression, Jesus sought to liberate the Jews from the formalism of the Law, and Muhammed attempted to establish a society of equality and justice[(60)].

7-4. At present, the Transcendence is a World structure, a World Development, a World Transformation, through human

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(59) "Did ye wonder that there hath come to you a message from your Lord, through a man of your own people, to warn you so that ye may fear God and happily receive his mercy" (7:63; 7:69); "Is it a matter of wonderment to men that we have sent our inspiration to a man from among themselves that he should warn mankind and give the good news to the believers that they have before their Lord, the lofty rank of truth." (10:2), Is there not among you a single right-minded man?" (11:78); "Then there came running from the farthest part of the city a man saying, 0 people, obey the Apostle" (36:20). "A believer, a man from among the People of Pharaoh, who had concealed his faith, said: Will ye slay a man because he says: My Lord is God..." (40:28).

(60) "But we destroyed those who transgressed beyond bounds" (21:9). "How many were the populations we utterly destroyed because of their iniquities, setting up in their places other peoples" (20:11); "Thus we have placed leaders in every town, its wicked men, to plot therein (6:123). "when we decide to destroy a population, we send a definite order to those among them who are given the good things of this life and yet transgress. So that the word is proved true against them. Then we destroy them, truly."(17:16). "How many were the populations we utterly destroyed because of their iniquities setting up in their places other peoples." (21:11; 22:45; 22:48).

activity and effort. The Transcendence appears as the practice of good and prevention of evil. The role of man on Earth is to build not to destroy, to civilize not to annihilate, to plan and develop not to abandon and neglect. The word Islah, which means doing good, is used more as an active noun referring to good-doers or good deeds than as a substantive noun referring to abstract action [(61)]. The good deed is always connected to faith. The good deed can be for one's self, for the other in the context of social relations, for the family or society, or in the contest of nations on earth [(62)].

7-5. The prevention of mischief must come before doing good, since mischief on earth is contrary to man's vocation and purpose. Mischief on earth includes destruction of cattle or crops, killing or homicide. Man's deed is the link between himself and the Transcendence, an unbreakable ethical and contractual covenant [(63)].

(61) The verb Aslaha and its derivatives are used in the Qur'an 180 times, as a verb 30 times, as a substantive noun, 9 times, and as a personal noun 141 times; "Any who believe in God and the last day and work righteousness shall have their reward with their Lord (2:62)

(62) "Who makes mischief in the land and mends not (their ways)" (26:152); "There were in the city nine men of a family who made mischief in the land and would not reform" (27:48); "Do no mischief on the earth, after it had been set in order ... " (7:56); "And do no mischief on the earth after it has set in order" (7:85); "When it is said to them : 'Make not mischief on earth, they say: why, we only want to make peace! Of a surety, they are the ones who make mischief but they realize it not." (2:11-12).

(63) The Word Afsada, which means to make mischief, is used in the Qur'an 50 times, out of which 32 times are connected to earth, once to Heavens and Earth, once to land and sea which is also Earth, once to society, also on Earth, and once to Nations or countries, also on Earth. "Then, is it to be expected of you, if ye were put in authority, that ye will do mischief in the Land and break your ties of Kith and Kin?" (47:22); "When he turns his back his aim everywhere is to spread mischief through=

7-6. The Transcendence appears where ever socio-political struggle may be. The Transcendence is at the same time a theoretical structure of the world and a dialectic in history. The Transcendence is not a simple faith without works, nor an internal illumination for spiritual beauty and mystical beautification, but rather a social structure and a historical dialectic. The Transcendence is a permanent struggle between Reason and Passion, Good and Mischief, Unity and Disparity, Peace and Discord, Construction and Destruction, Life and Death [(64)].

7-7. Therefore Islam is not submission or servitude, but rather the revolution of the Transcendence, a dynamic structure for the individual consciousness, for the social order and for progress in history. This

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= the earth, and destory crops and cattles, but God loves not mischief" (2:205); "Who makes mischief in the land and mend not (their ways)." (26:152); "But they (ever) strive to do mischief on earth, and God loveth not those who do mischief." (5:64); "And do no evil or mischief on the (face of the) earth" (2:60); "... And refrain from evil and mischief on the earth" (7:74); "Commit not evil in the land with intent to do mischief" (11:85; 26:183); "But do thou good as God has been good to thee, and seek not (occassions for) mischief in the land" (28:77); "Nor commit evil on the earth with the intent to do mischief' (29:36); "Those who break God's Covenent after it is ratified, and who sunder what god has ordered to be joined, and do mischief on earth. these cause loss, only to themselves" (2:27); "But those who break the covenent of God after having plighted their word thereto, and cut asunder those things which God has commanded to be joined, and work mischief in the land, on them the curse, for them is the terrible home!" (13:25).

(64) "And if God did not check one set of people by means of another, the earth would indeed be full of mischief." (2:251); "Mischief has appeared on the land and sea, because that the hands of men have earned, that God may give them a taste of some of their deeds." (30:41). (The translation used is that of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, The Holy Qur'an. Text, Translation and Commentary. Al-Dar Al-Arabia, Beirut, Lebanon, 1968).

common and wrong idea, combined with another common and wrong practice, serve as a basis for the perpetuation of stereotyped images in a time where images, through the powerful mass media, became substitutes for realities. If the conflict of interpretations is indeed a power struggle on the level of society, the conflict of images is also another power struggle on the level of history.

7-8. The revolt of the Transcendence is not an utopian thought. It happened in history, in the Islamic World and Culture, during the classical era. Once the Transcendence eclipsed in the hearts and minds of the Muslims, it eclipsed also in their societies and in their history. All efforts to change the state of mind, the social order or even the course of history of the Muslims, in the name of secular ideologies of modernization, apart from the revolution of the Transcendence, will always have partial successes and several setbacks, one step forward and two steps backward, as the modern history of Muslim societies demonstrates. Only through the revolution of the Transcendence can Muslims return back to their individual souls, to their Law in society and to their vocation in history.

7-9. All revolutions occurred in history as the function of the Transcendence. Islam only gave the prototype. From Spartacus and the revolt of the slaves in ancient Rome until the Islamic revolution in Iran, people's power in the Philippines and mass demonstrations in South Korea, all revolutions were against political and social tyrannies. The great French, Russian, and American revolutions are different manifestations of the revolution of the Transcendence, especially as motivations in the beginning. All movements for the unity of peoples such as the German, the Italian and the American,

are also indirectly made in the name of the Transcendence. The heroic era of decolonization in the Third World was also one of the late manifestations of the revolution of the Transcendence.

The argument of practicality is often misused. Instrumentalism was always a justification of war. Peace is an endeavour, an effort, a struggle to endure. But, it is above all a conviction, more than a striving. If humanity yields to interests, small or big, it will sink down into continuous wars. If humanity identifies itself with the Universal Code of Ethics, it will elevate itself to Eternal Peace. It is up to humanity to choose between failure of nerve and moral courage, between eternal damnation and eternal salvation.

8. Realities of the Muslim World To-Day

8-1. It may be argued that the realities of the Muslim World nowadays: violence, civil wars, kidnapping, hi-jacking, tortures, assasinations… etc, are far away from this ideal described just now: Islam as a religion of peace and a Universal Code of Ethics. If this ideal is not practiced by Muslims themselves, how far can it be applied by non-Muslims in the rest of the world? Indeed, such an argument could be valid if the Muslims had tried to apply the ideal and failed. On the contrary, the realities of the Muslim World are as they are, just because of the absence of this Ideal. Muslim Societies are not yet prepared for life in peace. Peace is not reigning, neither in the external nor in the internal world, neither on Earth nor in the Soul. Muslim Societies are suffering from the most horrible forms of social, economic and political injustices. To the extent that these

forms continue, Muslim Societies will not be prepared for life in peace. Once these forms are lifted up, peace can reign. The intention of the gradual Revelation in history was to prepare people, societies and nations for life in peace and security. Once the purpose of Revelation is fulfilled, the distance between the Ideal and the Real will disappear.

In the Muslim World nowadays, there are seven forms of injustices which are behind all kinds of violence and disturbance in the public Order on the international as well on the national scenes. They are at the heart of violence everywhere, motivating individuals and dissident groups for action and inviting peoples to revolt.

8-2. First, the occupation of the land as a leftover of the colonial era. In spite of the huge process of decolonization, parts of the Muslim World are still occupied: Palestine, Afghanistan, and Kashmir. Occupation can also be indirect, such as the presence of foreign military bases in many parts of the Muslim World (Saudi Arabia and Turkey). In Islam, the Kingdom of God is in Heaven and on Earth, not only a Kingdom in the Heavens (Christianism) or a Kingdom on Earth (Judaism). Decolonization is a just war. Jihad is legitimate for those expelled from their homes and expatriated(65). The Jihad, as explained is a defensive war to re-establish justice and order. Occupation occurs by aggressive wars and ends by liberating wars.

(65) 'To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight) because they are wronged; and verily, God is most powerful for their aid. (There are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right (for no cause) except that they say: Our Lord is God..." (22:39).

8-3. Second, internal oppression and dictatorial regimes are behind much of the internal violence in the Muslim World. The rule of a Muslim majority by a secular minority in the name of secular political ideologies: Liberalism, Socialism, Nationalism, Marxism… etc, is an usurpation of power. The source of authority in Islam is neither heredity (Kingdoms), nor coups d'Etat by Free Officers (People's Republics) nor referendums (Parliamentary systems), but Islamic Law. The political power is only an executive power, not a legislative nor a judiciary power. In Islamic Rule, freedom of expression is the duty of every Muslim man and Muslim woman knowing the Law. Each must order the good to be done and prevent the evil from being done[(66)]. He has to begin by peaceful advise, then by appealing to the judiciary, and finally as a last resort, by a revolt against the despot who does not apply the rule of Law. Although the high Judge is nominated by the head of State, he cannot be dismissed by him. On the contrary, the head of State can be dismissed by the high Judge if the former does not hear and obey the advise of knowledgeable people, and before a revolt against him occurs. If political regimes in the Muslim World continue to rule in the name of secular ideologies practicing the most horrible forms of oppression and dictatorship, violence will continue to destabilize these regimes, supported by foreign Powers. Muslim societies can be prepared for life in peace, once the freedom of expression stipulated in Islam is implemented in practice.

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(66) Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoying what is right, and forbidding what is wrong" (3:110); "We are the best of peoples, evolved for mankind, enjoying what is right, forbidding what is wrong..." (3:110).

8-4. Third, the polarity between rich and poor inside Muslim societies has reached a stage where a few people own almost all the wealth and the majority is starving. The maldistribution of wealth between those who have and those who have not, between oilrich countries and poor countries, between royal families and their populace, between multi-millionaires and the majority living under povertyline, is a major cause of social unrest. National capital has flown to international capital, and national sovereignty has yielded to multinational corporations. In Islam, wealth cannot be in the hands of the minority ruling the majority. It has to be shared, and given to all social classes in the whole nation (67). Wealth and the whole world belong to God. Man is only a depositary. He has the right to use, to invest and to spend according to his needs. But he has no right to misuse, to monopolize or to exploit. If he does, the State, representing mass interests, must intervene. The State has the right to nationalize, to confiscate and to own. General interests cannot be owned individually, such as grass (agriculture), fire (industry) and salt (big Trade). God in Islam is defined in terms of human needs: food against hunger as well as security against fear(68). A society would collapse and the State be destroyed, if there is a high Palace, looking over a closed well, that is, the

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(67) "What God has bestowed on his Apostle (and taken away) from the people of the townships, belongs to God, to his Apostle and to Kindred and Orphans, the needy and the wayfarer, in order that it may not (merely) make a circuit among the wealthy among you" (59:7).

(68) "Let them adore the Lord of this House, who provides them with food against hunger and with security against fear (of danger)" (56:3-4)

domination by the wealthy minority of the poor majority (69). As long as a few are dying from satiety and over-filled stomachs, while millions are dying from drought, hunger and poverty, Muslim societies are not yet prepared for life in peace.

8-5. Fourth, the dismantlement of the Muslim World, the breaking of its indestructable tie, the dismemberment of one organic body continue to be a major cause of violence, borders clashes and internal civil wars. Before the era of colonization, the Muslim World was one united world. Every Muslim could travel from one corner to the other, looking for knowledge, without barriers or frontiers. After decolonization, new National States were created against the will of the people and contrary to their Islamic Traditions. With ignorance, backwardness and foreign conspiracies to strengthen ethnic and religious differences, wars began on the borders between two countries or inside the same country (70). The old Roman dictum, “Divide ut imperes,” was successfully implemented by the big Powers to divide the Muslim World and to swallow it piecemeal. As long as the dismantlement of the Muslim World continues, border clashes from the outside and civil wars from the inside will also continue. Once the Muslim World returns to its unity, in the image of God's Unity, there will be no more

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(69) “How many populations have We destroyed, which were given to wrongdoing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many wells are lying idle and neglected and castles, lofty and well-built?" (22:45).

(70) Wars between two countries such as Iran and Iraq, Egypt and Lybia; Wars inside the same country such as in Sudan (North-South), Morocco (Polizario), Lebanon (civil war), the Philippines (Muslims in Mindanao).

violence and blood-shed [71]. The desire for unity is very deep in the present, not only in the past. The Muslim World is aspiring to its unity, antagonized by big Powers in many ways, even the partial alliances between any two neighbouring States, in the name of Arab or African Unity or in the name of Afro-Asian Solidarity or the Non-Alignment movements.

8-6. Fifth, the backwardness of the Muslim World called, in modern terms, underdeveloped or developing countries is another cause of disturbance. The lack of infra-structure on all levels, especially public services, creates whole societies living in distress and constantly depressed. All phenomena of underdevelopment such as: dependency in food and nutrition, foreign aid, increase of import and decrease of export, lack of heavy industry, widespread consumerism, deficit in balance of payment, foreign debts, open-door policies, tax evasions, the rise of new middle classes, corruption, foreign banks transferring money from inside to outside, black markets, brain-drain, lack of planning… etc, create a psychosis of frustration in those who cannot compete in the new life-style. Therefore, crime increases, and security decreases. As long as Muslim societies continue in that kind of social disorder, neither peace nor security will reign. It is quite easy, through Islam, to prepare Muslim Societies for life in peace by asserting the sense of Vocation of a Muslim in parlicular, and a human being in general, as a Vice-Regent of God on Earth, fulfilling his message

(71) “Verily, this Brotherhood of yours is a single Brotherhood, and I am your Lord and cherisher" (21:29; 23:52).

and realizing his Word [72]. The struggle against underdevelopment is a struggle for peace.

8-7. Sixth, Westernization of Muslim Societies, and the consequent threats to cultural identity, are behind the upsurge of Islamic Fundamentalism and the practice of violence against the symbols of Western imitation and pro-Western policies. As long as the process of Westernization continues, a counter-reaction will always be generated in defense of indigenous Tradition. The polarity between the Self and the Other will reach a point of no return. Development does not necessarily mean the adoption of the Western model: growth, modernization, consumerism. Endogenous, rather than exogenous, development should protect Cultural Identity. As long as the relation between the Center and Periphery continues as it is now: Trainer and trainee, Master and disciple, Teacher and pupil, knowledgable and ignorant, a one way relation from those who have to those who have not, and a dissemination of Knowledge from the centre to the periphery. Thus the complex of superiority created in the Other and the complex of inferiority created in the Self will continue as one of the major sources of violence and causes of revolt. But, once all nations become equal partners, having an equal share in the making of humanity, once the process of Knowledge and teamwork or partnership becomes a two-way mutual process, once the whole history of mankind is not

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(72) "Behold, Thy Lord said to the angels: I will create a Vice-Gerant on." (2:30); "O David! We did indeed make thee a Vice-Gerant on Earth…" (38:26); "It is He who= = hath made you (His) agents, inheritors of the Earth…"(6:165; 10:73; 35:39; 7:69; 7:74; 27:62).

reduced to one of its phases, that of European Modern Times, then Muslim Societies will be better prepared for life in peace [73].

8-8. Seventh, the lack of mass-mobilization in the Muslim World, for a huge project of a global Renaissance leaves the masses an easy target for all kinds of under-ground movements to expand. Violence, bloodshed and wars are not inherent in human nature. It is an exception to the Rule. Violence is usually committed by secret organizations (for instance Jihad groups and Hizbollah in Lebanon) or by big Powers (American invasion of Grenada and bombing of Libya, Russian invasion of Afghanistan). The global commons are inclined to be peaceful. However, the abolition of all political parties, oppression by those in power, or the acceptance of a multi-party system without any equal balance of power and with an election result of 99.99% for the ruling party, all make the presence of an illicit, secret and militant Islamic party an attraction to Muslim youth. It is astonishing that in the whole Muslim World, there is no one legal and popular Islamic party which would fill the gap in political life, in spite of the complaint expressed by all political leaders about the political vacuum in their respective societies. The idea of a militant Islamic party is at the heart of every Muslim Society [74]. Once that party is allowed, the Muslim Masses

(73) "To each among you have We prescribed a Law and an Open Way. If God had so willed, he would have made you a single people, but (his plan is) to test you in what He hath = = given you: so strive as in a race in all virtue..." (5:51). "If the Lord had so willed he could have made mankind one people, but they will not cease to differ." (9318; 16:93)

(74) In the Qur'an, there is a duality between the party of the Devil and the party of God, which is usually a secret militant Islamic group. As for the Party of the Devil, "The Evil One has got the better of them, so he has made them lose the

will have a legal channel of expression. All underground Islamic Movements will have an open forum to express their grievances against the status quo and their hopes for their ideal societies.

8-9. As long as these actual dramas of the Muslim World are not resolved, Muslim Societies will be unprepared for life in Peace and be the victim of the most horrible forms of violence and war. Nuclear arms, star-wars and problems of disarmarnent are more linked to Western Societies. If it is easy to find solutions for nuclear threats through bilateral agreements between nuclear powers and through East-West Summits, it is very difficult to solve the seven dramas of the Musilim World. The threats to the Western World are recent, only since the second World War, and created by the Western Powers themselves. The dramas of the Muslim World are the heritage of a long history since its decadence, and caused mostly by the Other. The preparation of Western Societies for life in peace requires political treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The preparation of Muslim Societies for life in peace requires a change in the course of history.

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remembrance of God. They are the party of the Evil One. Truly it is the party of the Evil One that will perish" (59:19). "But people have cut off their affair (of unity) between them into sects; each party rejoices in that which is with itself."(23:63; 30:32); The party of God, such as: "As to those who turn (for friendship) to God, His Apostle and the (Fellowship of) believers. it is the fellowship of God that = = must certainly triumph (5:56); "They are the party of God. Truly it is the party of God that will achieve felicity" (58:22).

HERMENEUTICS AND REVOLUTION

1-1. In the Third World countries, Religion and Revolution are two legalities, one of the past and the other of the present. The first is an exigency, the second is an urgency. Sometimes, these two legalities contradict each other in a competing and even in a conflicting manner. Consequently, the society becomes divided between traditionalists and modernists, conservatists and progressists, the partisans of the throne and the Altar, and the partisans of the revolution, those who see the "golden age" in the past and those who see it in the future. In order to preserve the unity of the National Character and maintain continuity in history, a methodology is needed. Hermeneutics is this device, performing a peaceful passage from religion to revolution, and unifying the two legalities in one, the right to interpret the past for the sake of the present and to read the tradition in favor of the revolution.

1-2. The text in traditional societies may be religious: holy scriptures, prophecies, sacred books… etc, or profane: proverbs, popular wisdom, heretical cults. All of them are used as sources of knowledge and norms for action. The difference between "Hermeneutica sacra" and "General Hermeneutics," is one of degree, not of species. In traditional societies, the source of knowledge and the norm of action is still in a book, not in Reason and Nature, as is the case of the new secular societies.

1-3. Phenomenology is a passage "From...to..." as it appears literally in "Formal and Transcendental Logic." It is a vertical double passage: downward from the Formal to the Transcendental, and upward from the material to the Transcendental. In traditional

societies, a similar passage can be made, but horizontally, from religion to revolution, from Tradition to Modernism. That is why Traditional societies are called societies in transition, or developing countries. If Phenomenology was able in the West to clarify the confusion between the formal and the material, the pure and the impure, the abstract and the concrete, the rational and the sensible, namely between the essence and the fact, then Phenomenology may be also capable to clarify the confusion between Tradition and Modernism, Religion and Revolution, the old and the new. Phenomenology, as applied in the West in "Ideen," was a method of clarification based on essential distinctions. It can also be applied in Third world countries, as a regressive-progressive method articulated in "Krisis." (1).

2-1. Since Hermeneutics is the science of meaning, whether it is in the text or in living experiences, Phenomenology becomes the most effective tool. Hermeneutics played the role of Phenomenology, before the foundation of Phenomenology as a rigorous science. Hermeneutics also flourished after the foundation of Phenomenology, including the text and the Dasein. In Traditional societies, Phenomenology was practiced before being known as a discipline. The analysis of living experiences is the most suitable method to convince the masses and to persuade them.

2-2. In traditional socieies, Hermeneutics plays the role of Epistemology in secular societies. In Traditional societies, the text

(1) Ideen III, p.94-105, Krisis. p.58-60, p.71-74; Hassan Hanafi, L'Exégèse de la phénoménologie, L'etad actuel de la méthode phénoménologique et son application au phénomène religieux. p.350-370. Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, Le Caire, Egypte. 1979 (These de 1966).

is still an argument from authority. It is a source of theoretical knowledge and of practical norms. It provides the masses with their Weltanschauung and their standard of behavior. Since Phenomenology is something primitive in nature, as a direct perception, it becomes a tool of understanding and communication. In this way, the exegetical world of the Orient finds its rigor and precision.

2-3. Phenomenology in developed super-industrial societies expresses a desire to go beyond the cognitive limits of the affluent society. It satisfies a need for a new world order in Epistemology, Ontology and Axiology, to rectify the “Umsturz der Werten” largely exposed by Max Scheler. Phenomenology in developing countries is linked to the discovery of the Self, the new socio-political Cogito, the affirmation of the individuality and the rights of social groups, of peoples and nations. Phenomenology in the West may reveal the end of an era, from Cogito to Cogitatum. It may also reveal the beginning of a new era in the Third world. Phenomenology now may be a “double crossing” between the Oriental West and the historical Orient.

3-1. In Traditional societies, the world of essences exits. The real world is that of the spirit. So there is no need to practice Phenomenological or eidetic Reduction. Consequently there is no need for constitution either. The Traditional lebenswelt is already constituted. There is only a need for clarification, the third forgotten rule in Phenomenological method.

3-2. There is no hermeneutics per se, absolute and universal. Hermeneutics is Hermeneutics for use. It is a part of the sociopolitical struggle. Since both Tradition and Revolution are

legal, Hermeneutics becomes the legitimizing device for each one. It justifies the legality of both Tradition and Revolution. Since the upper and the middle classes identify themselves with tradition, while the lower class identifies itself with revolution, the interpreters of each class produce their own Hermeneutics, a passage from Revolution to tradition for the interpreters of the upper and middle classes, and a passage from tradition to Revolution by the interpreters of the lower class. The quarrel of interpretation indeed is a social conflict between classes.

3-3. The universal essence in this case is merely effectiveness for socio-political change. Phenomenologists previously complain-ed about static Phenomenology, and tried to switch to a dynamic one. Others tried to unify Phenomenology with and Marxism, Logos and Praxis. In Traditional societies an independent and universal essence exists. Truth is equal to Reality. The identity between Reason and Reality, called for in Ideen, between Ratio and "Rei," is inherent in Traditional cultures. Reason is Tradition and Reality is Revolution. The first is the legacy of the past, the second is the acquisition of the present.

4-1. Hermeneutics is the science of interpretation. To interpret means to understand and to execute. The violinist is an interpreter. The text is like a musical note, needs to be understood and realized. Since Hermeneutics was the early form of Phenomenology, and later its fulfillment, it can reshuffle Phenomenology, as a practical science. Phenomenology then becomes not only a theory of knowledge or a theory of being, but also a theory of oriented action,

as is the case in behavioral sciences. “Knowing for knowing” is related to final stages of culture, not to the first ones, a symptom of death rather than a symptom of life.

4-2. The call for an applied Phenomenology to minimize the overcharged theoretical analysis is heard ipso facto. Phenomenology is only a method to be applied, a level of analysis to be operated upon, and even more a lifestyle. If Hermeneutics is for use, Phenomenology is also for use. It can switch from a simple intellectual exercise, in developed societies, to a participatory oriented action, practiced naturally in developing countries.

4-3. Therefore, the Eidos yields to the Telos. The point of Archimedes and the idea of Plato become the historical praxis of the third world. There will be two glories, one for the West, namely the power of theorization dear to Husserl and Weber, the other for the third world, namely the struggle for national liberation dear to F. Fanon, Ch. Guevara, Mao, E. Cesaire, N’Khruma, L. Sango, Nyerere, K. Kawunda, Ghandi, Nehru, Nasser. Instead of an external and obscure unification between Existentialism and Marxism, as in “La critique de la Raison dialectique”, a unity from the base can be foreseen between the Eidos of the developed world and the Telos of developing countries.

5-1. To interpret is to read. Reading is not only a vocal utterance, but a process of understanding by transposing the whole text to one's own reality. Reading means to bring the text to the center of one's life, from the past to the present, from the external and objective world to the internal and subjective one.

5-2 Text and Meaning

The text itself is empty. It needs to be fitted like an empty consciousness. It is the letter the past needs to signify a meaning coming out of the living experience of the present. The text which originated in the past, in a retrospective vision, is filled by a content from the present, in a prospective vision. Hermeneutics is a procedure by which homogeneity in time, a continuous flux from the past to the present to the future, is realized. Thus the text itself is formal. It needs a material content coming from the living experiences of the present. The text needs a passage from the formal to the Transcendental, as Husserl did for Logic.

5-3. Although the text has originated in special historical situations, it becomes an independent source of value throughout history. The text is born in history but lives in meta-history. It begins in historical contingency and ends in ideational necessity. The text switches from the relative to the absolute, and from the particular to the universal. The text carries its own reduction and constitution.

6-1. To interpret is to make this double movement from the text to reality and from reality to the text. The first is realized through the amphibological principles of language.The second is through the feeling of the Zeitgeist. Language without reality is void, reality without language is blind. “Die Sprache ist dass Haus des Seins”.

6-2. The amphibological principles give the interpreter the freedom to read himself and his society in the text. The text has double sides according to the double social structure in every society. The role of the interpreter is to lay the text on one of its sides. Such amphibological principles include the literal and the figurative, the

exoteric and the esoteric, the univocal and the equivocal, the precise and the vague, the particular and the general(2).

6-3. The social structure is also double: rich and poor, oppressor and oppressed, authority and opposition, minority and majority, elite and masses, ruler and ruled. The interpreter's role is to change the status quo, namely the domination of the first on the second and to generate a power-struggle between the two poles in favor of the second against the first, for the sake of social change as a peaceful and gradual revolution.

7-1. Such a double structure of the text and of society generates two trends in Hermeneutics, a conservative and a progressive. Conservative Hermeneutics begins by considering the text as an independent and literal meaning, a norm according to which reality is measured. Progressive Hermeneutics begins with reality itself and accommodates the text according to reality. Conservative Hermeneutics considers the text a value per se and an end in itself, while progressive Hermeneutics considers the text only as a tool. Human life is the absolute value to be preserved. Conservative Hermeneutics is formal, void of content, mystic, dogmatic, theocentric and historical, while progressive Hermeneutics is material, full, social, open, anthropocentric and meaningful. The conflict between these types of interpretation is indeed a struggle between two social forces.

(2) Hassan Hanafi: Les Méthodes d'Exégèse, p.174-186, Le conseil superieur des Arts, des Lettres et des les Sciences Sociales. Impremerie Nationale, Le Caire, 1965. Religious Dialogue and Revolution. Hermeneutics as Axiomatics, p.15-37, Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo, 1977.

7-2. Theology of liberation is nothing else except this phenomenological passage, through Hermeneutics, from Tradition to Revolution. It can reformulate itself to a rigorous discipline, purifying itself from emotionalism, dogmatism and institutionalism. This phenomenological rigor can extend to Hermeneutics as a tool for development in the Third world.

7-3. These directing ideas are simple orientations. They are schematic, disparate and acclamatory. They are only examples of how phenomenology can be extended outside its own cultural boundaries and adapt itself according to other motivations and cultural milieus.

ISLAM, RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Concordance among Ideas, similarities in positions, and even identity of attitudes between different scholars belonging to different religions and cultures, may reveal in practice the possibility of common ground, of a unique paradigm, or of a universal norm for all individuals and nations, religions and cutlures, carrying the same anguish and thinking in absolute sincerity and complete disinterest. That was the feeling after reading Paul Knitter's lucid, pertinent and courageous article, "Catholic Theology of Religions at a Crossroads," with full agreement with the content, the spirit and the purpose of the article. Comments are only additional footnotes to strengthen its position, namely liberation theology as a common ground among all religions and a means of liberation of all peoples, in order to implement the kingdom of Heaven on earth, the rule of justice, equality and human dignity.

This is not simply an intellectual effort, Catholic nor Protestant, Christian nor Jewish, Hindu nor Buddhist, because liberation theology is not a sectarian option, rather an intentional effort based upon the purity of the heart and the common welfare of society. It is not a liberation theology of religions but a liberation theology of peoples. It is an attitude towards life rather than a new Theology.

The four stages in Catholic Theology: Christ against religions, within religions, above religions and together with religions are not only historical stages, but also structural attitudes of theologians vis à vis other religions, according to the spirit of the time. They reveal

a quadruple structure such as: Antagonism or exclusiveness, Tolerance or inclusiveness, Ecumenism or Solvitur in excelsis, and pluralism or Unity in diversity.

These are simple comments on these four main options: “Against,” “Within,” “Above,” and “Together,” without mentioning names of theologians or historical instances, basing these comments on pure rational evidence and human feelings, with an effort to “axiomatise” them. What is needed in inter-religious Dialogue is Axiomatics rather than Dialectics.

Islam will be in mind. I will try to express its views indirectly by commenting on the four paradigms and the proposed fifth one, which Islam also mentions, in order to make them more salient, sharp and efficient. Some scriptural arguments from the Qur'an will be used, only as illustrations, since the article mentioned some from the Gospels. Islam will be concentrated upon since it is not mentioned in the article as an example of other religions, side by side with Judaism, Hinduism and Buddhism.

1 - The “Against” Paradigm

This is the most visible attitude, historically known since Origen, Cybrion and Augustin. It has not died out yet, though sometimes it weakens, as during the enlightenment, sometimes it strengthens and becomes fundamentalism. It is a misunderstanding of revelation and a misinterpretation of the sacred texts, sometimes based on private interests of nations or of the dominant social and political groups, sometimes based on racism, declared or undeclared, conscious or unconscious. Sometimes it is simple human egoism and arrogance. The Crusades were the most prominent

historical instance of such a paradigm. Jewish particularism is another. Since Christianity became synonymous with western Culture, Eurocentrism has become the ongoing implementation of the paradigm, the Center versus the periphery.

Islam denies such paradigm. Islam recognizes all religions, whether Abrahamic revealed religions, or non-Abrahamic natural religions. Islam recognizes the unity, the integrity and the totality of all revelations, without any distinction among prophets, Books, stages and even kinds, revealed or natural, Divine or human. By contrast, Judaism recognizes prophecy before Christ, Christianity till Christ, and Islam till post-Christ: “Say ye: we believe in God and the revelation given to us and to Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob and the Tribes; and that given to Moses and Jesus; and that given to all prophets from their Lord . We make no difference between one and another of them. And we bow to God (In Islam) (2:135); "The Apostle believeth in what has been revealed to him from his Lord as to the men of faith.” “Each one of them believeth in God, his angels, his books and his apostles. We make no distinction between one another of His apostles.” (2:285); and "say: we believe in God and what has been revealed to us, and what was revealed to Abraham, Ismail Isaac, Jacob and the Tribes, and in the Books given to Moses, Jesus and the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between one and another among them and to God we bow our will(In Islam)." (3:84) [(1)].

(1) The Holy Qur’an. Text translation and commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali. Al-Dar al-Arabia, Beirut, Lebanon.

2 - The "Within" Paradigm

This paradigm is a result of a whole struggle from late scholasticism (Abelard and Latin Averroists) till the whole modern times, culminating in the Enlightenment. Particularism yielded to Universalism. Islamic sciences were translated into Hebrew and Latin and became the very base of Western modern science. Natural Religion took over revealed religion. Religion became adequate to Reason, Nature, Free Will, Equality and Progress. The creation, during Vatican II, of the Council of the Secretariat for Non-Christians, was the legitimization of a long struggle and the embodiment of the spirit of modern times.

However the acceptance of non-Christians as "anonymous" Christians is only switching from exclusiveness to inclusiveness. In both cases, it is the Other which is conceived in relation to the Self. The Other does not have an independent status. The center is only saving the periphery by its tolerance and charity. The center stays the center and the periphery stays the periphery. It is cold war rather than real war, detente rather than nuclear war, peace rather than war. The two sides are still separated. The only justification for such a paradigm is a new theoretical understanding of Grace, theologically, anthropologically, and historically an understanding wider and more spacious in order to include the non-Christians. Nothing changes on the ground regarding the non-Christians.

This model is also present in Islam, by calling all prophets and all believers Muslims. The Muslim in a literal sense is that one who practices Islamic Law, but in a spiritual sense is that one who surrenders his will to the will of God. All previous prophets are

Muslims in a spiritual sense. They are all Muslims since they bow their will to the Divine Will, which is Islam. They are Muslims because all previous messengers are successive stages of the same revelation, accomplished and perfected in Islam. All prophets lived as Muslims and preached Islam. Since all prophets were Muslims and preached Islam, it is impossible for a Muslim to believe in some of the prophets and to reject the others. The unity of the message is like the unity of God. Since all messages carried on by the successive prophets are the same, believing in one requires ipso facto believing in all others. Thus, "Abraham was not a Jew, nor yet a Christian, but he was true in faith and bowed his will to God's (which is Islam)... "(2:133); and, "Our Lord! make of us Muslims, bowing to Thy (will), and of our progeny a people Muslim bowing to Thy (will), and this was the legacy that Abraham left to his sons and so did Jacob. 0 my sons! God has chosen the faith for you Then die not except in the faith of Islam" (2:132). It is the cult of your father Abraham.

It is he who has named you Muslims both before and his (Revelation) that the apostle may be a witness for you and ye be witness for mankind "(22:78);" and nearest among them in love to the believers with thou find those who says : we are Christians bceause among these are men devoted to learning and men who have renounced the world and they are not arrogant "(5: 85)

3 - The "Above" Paradigm

This paradigm is true de jure but still untrue de facto. It is theoretically based on "Solvivitur in excelsis," to unify the opponents in a third truth, higher than both. It is the synthesis

between the thesis and the antithesis. However in practice the self makes itself the criteria of the other. The self is the measure and the other is the measured. The self is the Summum Bonum and the other is merely bonum. The risk of domination is still there. The norm is personal, the person of Christ, not impersonal the word of Christ. It is a person, not a principle. The norm is theoretical, not practical. Belief in the norm is not linked to action. Faith is without works.

Islam refers to this paradigm, making from the third term a unification of the opponents a Universal principle, a Dictum of Reason, and a Requirement of Nature. Islam is the essence of all religions. In spite of different forms of rituals, the essence of the message is the same, the declaration of the one is of God and His manifestation in the Good Deed. Since Islam is the religion of each individual, of every prophet, of every nation and of all mankind, the affiliation to one universal love of Ethics becomes possible. The unity of the Essence is the foundation of the oneness of the principle and the Universality of the code of Ethics. Since God is one, submitting one's will to God's Will is submitting all human wills to one principle. Therefore, double standard ethics-- freedom, peace and justice for one's self, but servitude, war and injustice for the others, is completely contrary to Islam. The other has the same right as the self, if not even more. Thus, “0 People of the Book, come to common terms as between us and you, that we worship none but God, that we associate no partners with Him, that we erect not from among ourselves Lords and patrons, other than God. If then they turn back, say ye bear witness that we are Muslims” (3:64); and “say what has come to me by inspiration is that your God is one God. will ye therefore bow to His Will (In Islam)?”

(21:108); and "Our God and your God is One and it is to Him we bow (in Islam)." (29:46)

4 - The "Together" Paradigm

This paradigm is a common and popular one, human in appearance but inactive in reality. It denotes intellectual laziness and sometimes hides unethical intentions. Kisses and embraces may be those of Judas Iscariote! It is always the initiative of the center to the periphery to stand together in front of photographs, hand in hand, but knives are hidden underneath. It is the formal and spectacular appearance of co-operation between the first and Third worlds, between the developed and the developing countries.

The basis of such Togetherness is not a new Theology, giving a universal relevance to all religions, reconceptualizing Jesus as proleptic or anticipatory Messiah, or distinguishing between historical Jesus and historical Christ, to make room for other religions and to universalize salvation. The real basis should be the unity of purpose and the diversity of means. Unitive Pluralism is not only a theoretical double-concept, but a theoretical practical dimension of Logos and Praxis. Unity of praxis and diversity of logos, similar to Lessing's advice in Nathan der Weiser. Theologies are conjectural, but practice is certain. Dogmas are hypothetical constructions, but works are apodictic actions. Unless togetherness is conceived in this way, the dialogue will reflect the power struggle and the balance of power between the center and the periphery. The dialogue, in spite of its call for pluralism, is still ecclesiocentric, Christocentric, theocentric or simply centrocentric.

In the Islamic vision of such paradigm, the unity of purpose which is the Good Deed, and the diversity of means, are the very basis of the unity of revelation and the diversity of stages. This is the Unity of the Universal principle (Tawhid) and the diversity of the law (Shari'a). "To each among you we have prescribed Law and an open way. If God had so willed, He would have made you a single people but (his plan is) to set you in what he has given you, so strive as in a race, in all virtues. The Goal of you all is God. It is He that will show you the truth of the matters in which ye dispute (5:51); "If thy Lord had so willed, He could have made mankind one people. But they will not cease to dispute, except those on whom thy Lord hath bestowed His mercy. And for this did He create them (11:118); "0 mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other). Verily, the most honored of you in the sight of God is he who is the most righteous of you." (49:13)

5 - The Liberation Theology Paradigm

This is the most viable paradigm of religious dialogue. It takes advantage of all previous paradigms and transcends their limitations as follows:

a - Liberation Theology gives absolute priority to praxis over theory. The purpose is to change the status quo, not to defend it. That is why there is no room for a hermeneutics of suspicion, given the absolute priority of reality over the text. Situations of oppression and poverty are visibly seen, far away from the ambiguity of the text.

b - Liberation Theology takes the side of the oppressed against the oppressors, of the poor against the rich, of the discriminated against racialists and of the third world against the first world. It does not matter in which name this is done, in the name of God, in the name of salvation, or in the name of mankind.

c - Liberation Theology is a part of the socio-political struggle in which the wretched of the earth are engaged. It is not only a new Theology in theory, but an implementation of a new world order in practice. Dialogue occurs, not in Theological seminaries but in the common trench in which committed Theologians and freedom fighters find themselves.

d - Liberation Theology is not interested in religions per se, but in humans. Religions and Ideologies are simple tools for the betterment of mankind. What matters is orthopraxis rather than orthodoxy.

e - Liberation theology is first a liberation from theology, from the primacy of dogma; and second a liberation through theology. The Eternal in man is the purest and deepest motivation for praxis. Not committing mischief, and doing good on Earth, is the highest implementation of faith.

This is nearly the Islamic vision: "I only desire betterment to the best of my power (11:88); "Do not mischief on the Earth after it hath been set in order (7: 56; 7:85); "But God knows the man who means mischief from the man who means good." (2:220); "nor would thy Lord be the One to destroy communities for single wrongdoing if its members were likely to mend." (11:117); "Never shall we suffer the reward of the righteous to perish." (7:170); "who

make mischief in the land and mend not." (26:152); "Shall we treat those who believe and work deeds of righteousness the same as those who do mischief on Earth ? shall we treat those who guard against evil the same as those who turn aside from the right?" (38:28)

The difficulty of Dialogue lies in us, in the exclusiveness and arrogance in human passions, not in reality itself. Whoever can step in and wash the feet of his disciples, giving an example of modesty, will be the real Christian, who ever applies the dictum of James, to put the word of God into practice not just saying "Lord, Lord," will be the Liberation theologian capable of dialogue in the seminary and in the trench.

RENAISSANCE OF TRADITION AND CIVILIZATION RENAISSANCE

There are two models of the relation between the renaissance of tradition and civilization, discontinuity and continuity. The first was chosen by the West, the second by the non-West. Three dialectical moments represented in the continuity model [*].

I - The Tradition of the Self

Responsibility carried by several generations:

A - Authenticity and specificity: Rejection of the other and the assertion of the self, creating a tension of particularism vs universalism:

1 - Roots of traditions; against anthropomorphism and for a historical dimension.

2 - Matters of tradition; sacred books, religious sciences and popular proverbs.

3 - People's experiences; contemporary living intertwined with written tradition.

B - Interpretation of Tradition: How to read tradition and what tradition signifies:

1 - Methods of interpretation; reading the present in the past, selections and alternatives.

(*) An English summary of an article in Arabic with the same title, written for the United Nations Project, SCA, coordinated by A. Abd al-Malek. Kuwait, 1978.

2 - Negative tradition; absolutism, literalism, formalism, dualism, theoria and passivism.

3 - Positive tradition; reason, nature, freedom, action, energy and common benefits.

C - Authority of Tradition: Source of imperatives and norms of behavior:

1- Tradition and opposition movements; Shi'ites, Kharigites and Mu'tazilites.

2- Tradition and social forces; philosophers in the upper class, jurists in the middle class, mystics in the lower class.

3- Tradition and revolution; changing centers, axes and levels.

II - The Tradition of the Other

Alienation as assimilation of the self in the tradition of the other.

A - Modernity and Modernization: The assimilation of the other at a superficial level.

1- Manifestations of modern life style; urbanism, customs and manners.

2- Dangers of modernity; discontinuity, conservatism and loyalty to the other.

3- Role of modernity; specialization and education.

B - Modernization and Westernization :

Modernization in life-style as a result of Westernization in national consciousness:

1- Transmission and absorption; distraction between science and knowledge.

2- Dangers of Westernization; commentaries on the creation of the other, consumption, superiority-inferiority complex, distraction between memory and intelligence.

3- Domination of Western mentality; division, artificial opposition, action and reaction, instability, materialism, particularism, unilateralism.

C - Liberation from the Other: A condition of Civilizational Renaissance.

1- Mirror of the other; the rediscovery of the self initiates positive and negative aspects.

2- Transposition of the other; the philosophy of Enlightenment.

3- Repulsion of the other; putting him in his proper size inside his own borders.

III - The Civilizational Renaissance

The interaction between tradition and national experience.

A - National Culture: Intersection between tradition and national experience.

1- National liberation Movements; the end of Western hegemony and the beginning of national creativity.

2- National liberation cultures; cultural revolutions in China, Vietnam. Cuba, Latin-America, Africa and Iran.

3- National culture creativity; role of the armies, alliances of working forces, Arab socialism, non-alignment.

B - Power-elite Attitudes: Resulting from major schools of thought:

1- Religious freedom or political Islam; achievements in liberation, freedom, democracy and Eastern League; limits in emotionalism, anti-naturalism and traditionalism.

2- Scientism or Marxism; achievements in revolution and activism, limits in Westernization, dogmatism, isolationism and loyalty suspicions.

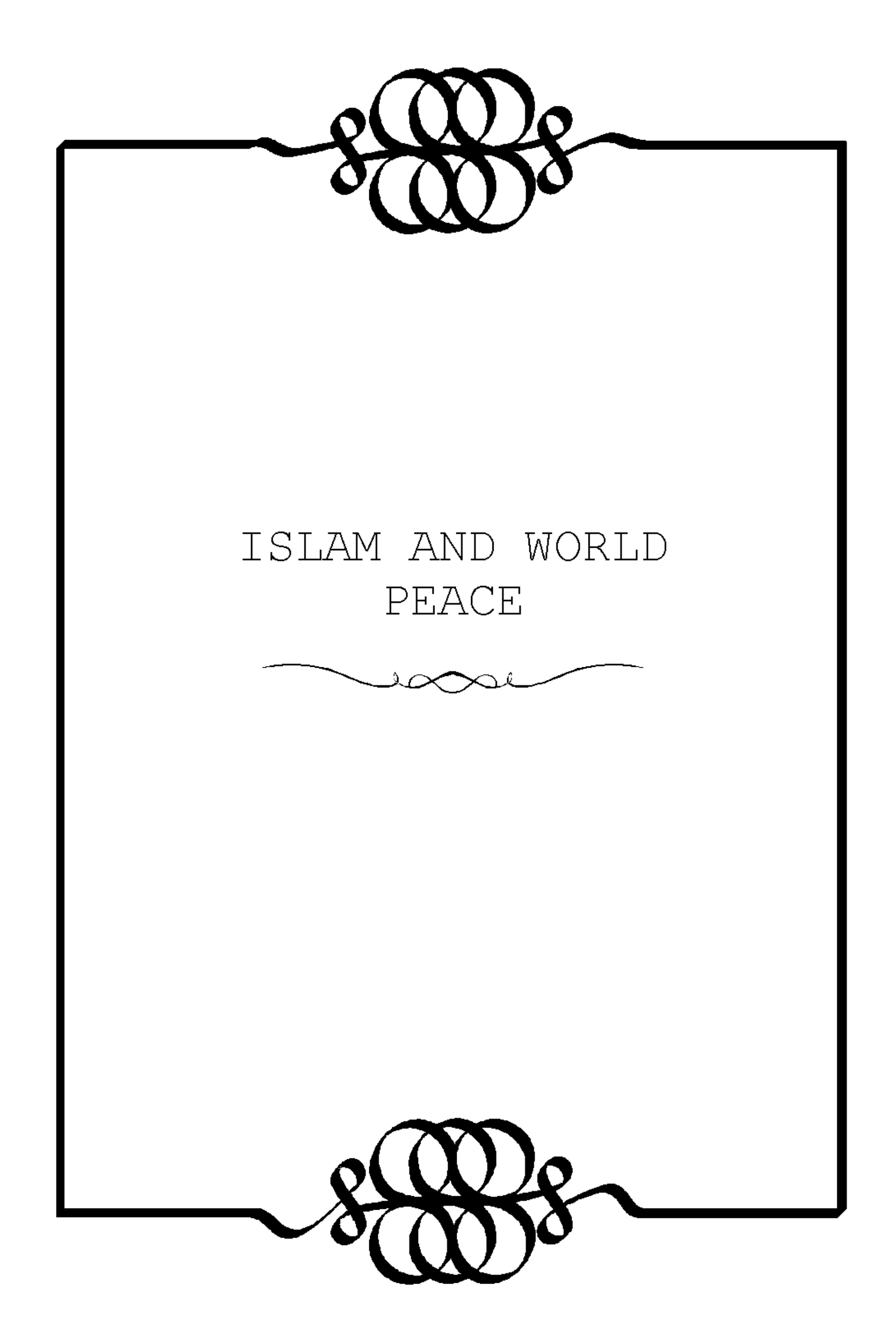
3- Liberalism or Capitalism; achievements in modernism, nationalism and freedom; limits in capitalism, kingdoms, democratic games and corruption.

C - Time and History: Situation of Tradition and National Culture in Time and History:

1- Revivalism and futurism; two opposite errors committed by Islamic fundamentalism and Marxism.

2- Present historical moment; moral and material crisis of the West, rediscovery of the East, "Eastwind," endogenous intellectual creativity of the non-Western peoples.

3- Foreign creativity and domestic intellectual abortion: monopoly of the political system in determining and implementing national goals, brain-drain careerism and frustration.



ISLAM AND WORLD PEACE

THE PREPARATION OF SOCIETIES FOR LIFE IN PEACE

An Islamic Perspective

1 - Islam as Peace: Symbols and Images

1-1. In many studies on the relation between Religion and Society, an option is to be made between normative analysis and factual description, between Seinsollen and Sein, between textual analysis and factual data. The first is the realm of the desirable. The second is the domain of actualities and consequently undesirable. The first is joyful to hear and beautiful to meditate. The second is painful to see and horrible to expect. The tension between the Ideal and the Real is a constant challenge to the human soul and to the social sciences. What to choose? normative analysis or factual description? Is it possible to combine both in order to measure the distance between the Ideal and the Real? If the distance is too great, is it possible to bridge it by implementing the ideal as well as by changing the real? Without such a bridge, the Ideal will appear as an utopian thought, giving consolation or functioning as a compensation. The real will also appear very cruel and refractory to any hopeful change. Only the primary source in Islam, namely the Qur'an, was used in order to describe the Ideal. The bridge between both is left to the readers interpreting the same Qur'anic verses and sharing the same experiences of the time. Phenomenological analysis of the Qur'anic texts as well as phenomenological description of the

(*) International Symposium on The Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. 22-29 October, 1986. 0saka, Japan.

common living experiences between the author and the readers are substituted for historicism and positivism. Objectivity is recovered through Intersubjectivity rather than lost in Objectivism.

1-2. The word Salam, which means peace in all its derivative forms, is mentioned and constantly repeatedly in the Qur'an, more as a noun than a verb (1). Since a noun is a substance while a verb is an action, we can say that peace indicated by the word Salam as a noun is a substance, a structure and a world-system not only an action. It is an objective reality, not only a subjective mood.

1-3. Islam, the name of the Religion, is derived from the same root as Salam, which means peace. Islam, therefore, is a religion of peace (2). The word this time is used more as an adjective than a noun. Once Islam is adopted as a belief-system by an individual or a group, it becomes an action and a life style, singular or plural, masculine or feminine (3). One of the derivative nouns is al-Silm, which means at the same time Islam and Peace (4).

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(1) The word Salam appears in the Qur'an 157 times, as a noun 79 times, an adjective 50 times, and a verb 28 times. Since adjectives are nouns, the word is effectively used as a noun 129 times.

(2) The word Islam is used 50 times, as the noun (Islam) 8 times, as the adjective singular, masculine (Muslim) and feminine (Muslimah) 3 times, and as the adjective plural (Muslimu) or feminine (Muslimat) 39 times.

(3) 26 times out of the 157 usages of the root are not related directly to peace such as: (1) once as (Musallamah) which means "sound, free of defects and imperfections" (2:129); (2) twice, the same word means "delivered to, given to," as in legal compensation (4:92); (3) three times, (Taslim), which means "acceptance with full conviction;" (4:65, 33:22, 33:56); (4) (Mustaslimun)means submission of the unbelievers to judgement (one time) (37:26); (5) (Sullam), which means "a ladder" (twice) (22:38; 6:35); =

1-4. Al-Salam (Salam with the article al), which means “The Peace,” is one of the ninety-nine Divine Names (5). Since Divine Names are considered a Universal code of ethics and peace. Therefore, they are a part of human behavior, individual as well as collective. Since the Divine Names are holy names to be sanctified, No Muslim can call himself Al-Salam, since it is a Divine Name, but only Abd al-Salam. That means the servant of peace. A Muslim is a Servant of Peace, implementing the Holy Name in his life and working for peace.

1-5. The greeting formula in Islam, determining the relation between Muslims is “al-Salmu ‘Alaykum,” which means "Peace be upon you". This greeting originates in some Qur'anic usage of the verb (Salam) which means “to salute.” (6). Homes are to be a sanctuary of privacy. No entry is possible without permission of the dwellers. Breaking-in, spying, bugging and all forms of assault on privacy are against peace. Peace is not only a matter of International Law and International Relations between Sovereign States. Peace begins inside the individual, expanding to family and social life.

= (6) (Sullaiman) which is Solomon (17 times) (2:102; 4:163; 6:84; 21:78; 21:79; 21:81; 27:16; 27:17; 27:18; 27:30; 27:36; 27:44; 34:12; 38:30; 38.34)

(4)"O ye who believe, enter into Islam wholeheartedly, and follow not the footsteps of the Evil One. For he is to you an avowed enemy" (2:208). The Holy Qur'an Text. Translation and Commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali. Beirut, Lebanon, 1968)

(5) "God is he, than whom there is no other God. The Sovereign, The Holy One, The Source of Peace (59:23).

(6) "Oye who believe! Enter not houses other than your own, until ye have asked permission and saluted those in them." (24:27); "but if ye enter houses, salute eachother with a greeting of blessing and purity as from God.” (24:61); "0 ye that believe! send ye blessings on him, and salute him with all respect" (33:56).

1-6. God spoke to the prophets, saluting them with the salutations and greetings of peace. God declares, by his salutations and greetings, that the essence of his message is peace, that he will send on Earth messengers of peace, calling for peace (7). The greetings of the dwellers of Paradise are also “Peace be upon you". God would greet them with the greetings of peace, as a reward for their patience and peaceful attitudes on earth (8). Paradise is an image of an ideal State where every one lives in peace. Paradise is called a “home of peace,” Dar-al-Salam (9). No vain discourse and no frivolities will be heard. Noise and tumults are against serenity and peace (10).

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(7) “Praise to God, and peace on his servants, whom he has chosen (for his message)" (27:29); "The word came: 0 Noah! come down (from the Ark) with peace salutations to Moses and Aaron.” (37:120); “Peace and Salutations to such as Elias.” (37:130); "And Peace on the Apostles" (37: 181).

(8) “They will call out to the companions of the Gardens, Peace on you" (7:46); Therein, shall they be met with salutations and peace." (25:75); “(This will be) their cry therein, Glory to thee, 0 God, and peace will be their greeting therein!” (10:10); “Their greeting therein shall be peace.” (14:23); “Peace unto you, for that ye persevered in patience! Now how excellent in the final home." (13:24); “Those whose lives the Angels take in a state of purity, saying (to them): Peace be on you, Enter ye the Garden because of (the good) which ye did (in the world).” (16:32); “Their salutation on the day they meet him will be “Peace" (33:44); "Peace be upon you, well have ye done. Enter ye here to dwell therein" (39:73); “Peace be unto thee from the companions of the Right hand.” (56.91).

(9) “For them will be a home of peace in the presence of their Lord" (61:27); “He will he their friend because they practiced (righteousness). But God doth call to the home of peace" (10:25).

(10) “They will not there hear any vain discourse, but only salutations of Peace" (19:62); "No frivolity will they hear therein, nor any taint of ill. Only the saying Peace! Peace!" (56:26)

Peace, Time, Nature and Cosmos

Peace is related to time, to nature and to cosmos [(11)]. Symbolically speaking, peace is needed in the dark more than in the light, at night more than in the day. At night, in the dark, the sense of insecurity increases and the desire for peace increases. Peace has to triumph, especially in the darkness, in moments of insecurity and in regions of conflicts.

2 - Islam as a Universal Religion of Peace

2-1. Islam is not the only religion of peace, since Peace is a Universal religion. Historically speaking, Islam is the last phase of a long development of Revelation in history. Two principal phases preceded Islam, Judaism and Christianity. Once the third moment in the dialectics of history is realized, the Ideal and the Real become one. Islam is indeed the synthesis between Judaism, the thesis, and Christianity, the anti-thesis. Islam is the unification of Law and Love, State and Religion, Kingdom of Earth and Kingdom of Heavens, Justice and Mercy, Body and Soul, Matter and Spirit, the World and God. That is why every one is a Muslim regardless of the phase to which he is attached. Given the development of Revelation in history as an accomplishment of perfection [(12)]. The difference between religions is only a matter of phases, prior or posterior, former or later. Although Lessing declared that the Enlightenment in the XVIII Century-Europe was the last phase in

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(11)"Peace: This until the rise of Morn." (97:5)

(12) "This day have I perfected your religion for you, completed my favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion." (5:3); "Those whom God (in his plan) willeth to guide, He opened their breast to Islam"(6:25).

the development of Revelation in history after Judaism and Christianity, Islam has made the same declaration almost one millennium before.

2-2. That is why abandoning Islam after adopting it is inconceivable. Conversion is impossible since time does not go backward [(13)]. It would be against progress and perfection. A Jew can be converted to Christianity or to Islam. A Christian can be converted to Islam. But a Christian can never be converted to Judaism, as a Muslim can never be converted to Christianity or to Judaism. All believers in non-Abrahamic religions can convert to any Abrahamic religion as a step towards final conversion to Islam. Likewise, any believer in Abrahamic religions cannot be converted to non-Abrahamic religions, since Monotheism in itself is a last stage of development of religion after Polytheism and Dualism.

2-3. Therefore, all previous prophets are Muslims in a literal sense. They are Muslims since they bow their Will to the Divine Will, which is Islam. They are Muslims because all previous messages are successive stages of the same Revelation, accomplished and perfected in Islam [(14)]. All prophets lived as Muslims and

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(13) "If any one desires a religion other than Islam (submission to God), never will it be accepted of him." (3:85); "But indeed, they uttered blasphemy, and they did it after accepting Islam." (9:74); "Nor would he instruct you to take angels and prophets for Lords and barons. what! Would he bid you to unbelief after ye have bowed your Will (to God in lslam)?" (3:80).

(14) "Abraham was not a Jew nor yet a Christian, but he was true in faith and bowed his Will to God's (which is Islam) and he joined not gods with God." (3:67); "They said: We shall worship thy God and the God of thy fathers, of Abraham, Ismail and Isaac, The One (True) God: to Him we bow (in Islam)." (2:133).

preached Islam [15]. In spite of different forms of rituals, the essence of the message was the same, the declaration of the Oneness of God and His manifestation in the good deed, acquired by the submission of human Will to Divine Will. All prophets died Muslims, declaring Islam as their final goal, as a message and as a life-style [16].

2-4. Noah was a Muslim by submitting his Will to the Will of God, obeying His order in building the Ark to save himself and his followers from the flood [17]. Abraham was a Muslim. All his descendants, the Prophets, are also Muslims. All Nations coming out of him are Muslims. Abraham is the prototype of a Muslim since he submitted his will to the Will of God, in preaching monotheism against idolatry, in accepting sacrifice of himself after being thrown into the fire, and God saved him and after implementing his dream to kill his son, and God saved him [18]. Moses was a Muslim. Those who believed in him as a messenger of God are also Muslims. Moses and his followers obeyed the Divine

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(15) "Our Lord! Make of us Muslims, bowing to Thy (will)," "and of our progeny a people Muslim, bowing to Thy (Will) (2:128).

(16) "Take Thou my soul (at death) as one submitting to They Will (as a Muslim) and unite me with the righteous" (12:101); "And this was the legacy that Abraham left to his sons, and so did Jacob. 0 my sons! God has chosen the faith for you. Then die not except in the faith of Islam" (2:132).

(17) "But if ye turn back, (consider): No reward that I have asked of you. My reward is only due from God, and I have been commanded to be of those who submit to God's Will (in Islam)" (10.72).

(18) "It is the cult of your father Abraham. It is He Who has named you Muslims. both before and in his (Revelation), that the Apostle may be a witness for you, and ye be witnesses for mankind." (22:78).

command, and God saved them from drowning [19]. Jesus Christ is a symbol of life in peace, when he was born, when he died and when he was resurrected [20]. His birth was a declaration of peace on Earth, against militarism and Roman conquests. His life Was an implementation of peace, by forgiving the sinner, curing the sick, and resurrecting the dead. His death was also for peace, as an atonement for human violence, rancor, hypocrisy and unjust laws. The disciples around Jesus Christ were also Muslims. They submitted their will to God's will, believed in Christ and his message, followed his footsteps and sacrificed their lives [21].

2-5. Since all prophets were Muslims and preached Islam, it is impossible for a Muslim to believe in some of the prophets and to reject the others [22]. The unity of the message is like the Unity of

(19) "Moses said: 0 my people, if ye do (really) believe in God, then in Him put your trust if ye submit (your will to His in Islam)." (10:84); "I believe that there is no God except Him whom the children of Israel believe in. I am of those who submit (to God in Islam)." (10.90).

(20) "So peace on him the day he was born, the day that he dies, and the day that he will be raised up to life (again)." (19:15); "So peace is on me, the day I was born, the day that I die, and the day that I shall be raised up to life (again)." (19:33).

(21) "When Jesus found unbelief on their part, he said: "Who will be my helpers to (the work of) God? Said the disciples: We are God's helpers, we believe in God. and do thou bear witness, that we are Muslims" (3:52); "And behold! I inspired the disciples to have faith in Me and Mine Apostle. They said: We have faith and do thou bear witness that we bow, to God as Muslims." (5:111).

(22) "Say ye: We believe in God, and the revelation given to us and to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the Tribes, and that given to Moses and Jesus, and that given to (all) prophets from their Lord. We make no difference between one and another of them. And we bow to God (in Islam)." (2:136); "Say: We believe in God, and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham, Ismail, Isaac, Jacob and =

God. Since the essence of all messages carried by the successive prophets is the same, believing in one requires, ipso facto, believing in all the others.

2-6. Since Islam is the religion of each individual, of every prophet, of every nation and of all mankind, the affiliation to one Universal code of ethics becomes possible. The unity of the Essence is the foundation of the Oneness of the Principal and the Universality of the Code of Ethics (23). The duality of principals would produce another duality of action, namely two different standards of behavior and two different codes of ethics.

2-7. The drama of the world nowadays is its double standard of ethics and its double value-systems resulting from the split of the world into Capitalism and Socialism, Liberalism and Authoritarianism, West and East. Duality of principals is a contradiction in terms in the idea of Principal itself, which is by definition One and Universal. Two principals mean that one principal is insufficient and contradicted by another which is against the idea of a self-sufficient and self-sustaining Principal. The duality of principals is not only a contradiction in theory but also a power - struggle in action.

= the Tribes, and in (the books) given to Moses, Jesus, and the prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between one and another anong them, and to God do we bow our will (in Islam).“(3:84).

(23) "Say: 0 peoples of the book, Come to common terms as between us and you : That we worship none but God; that we associate no partners with Him; that We erect not, from among ourselves, Lords and patrons other than God. If then, they turn back, say ye: Bear witness that we (at least) are Muslims (bowing to God's Will)." (3:64); " "Say: What has come to me by inspiration is that your God is One God. Will ye therefore how to His Will (in Islam)." (21:108); "Our God and your God is One. And it is to Him we bow (in Islam)" (29:46).

Since the Real has to be oriented and remodeled according to the Ideal, each of the two principals will present itself as the only true principal, discrediting the other. Each one of the two will present itself as the True Principal, accusing the other as a False one. Since the Real has to be oriented, a power struggle between the two principals will emerge. If the two are equal in power the state of cold war will follow and the world will live a permanent tension resulting from the fear of war. If both are equal in power and war is launched, a mutual destruction will occur and the whole world will be annihilated. If one Principal is stronger than the other it will defeat the feeble one and will impose its own will on the whole world. Since it is only one principal out of two, its norms of behavior express its own interests, especially after its victory, and the whole world will follow its dictates. Since Freedom is innate in the human soul and in human society, and since the history of Revelation is a history of liberation of Mankind, the dictate of the victorious power will necessarily come to an end. It will be defeated by another power, challenging it whether to become a substitute power or to liberate the whole world from the usurpation of power and to declare the affiliation of the whole mankind to One Universal Principal. Now and then, the whole world can follow one Universal Code of Ethics.

3 - Islam as a Universal Code of Ethics

3-1. Since God is One, submitting one's will to God's Will is submitting all human wills to one Principal (24) . Therefore, double standard ethics: freedom, peace and justice for oneself, but ser-

(24) "But your God is one God. Submit then your wills to Him (in Islam), and give thou the good news to them who humble themselves" (22:34).

vitude, war and justice for the others, is completely contrary to Islam. The other has the same right as the self if not even before.

3-2. Peace, before being a social, economic or political matter, is above all an ethical norm. Since peace is deduced from the belief in One Universal God, it becomes a value. In Islam, a Belief-system is in fact a Value-system, a manifestation of the Oneness of God in human and social life.

3-3. Peace begins on Earth once human beings follow divine guidance(25). Therefore, peace in the world is conditioned by human actions. Since God is synonymous with Value, even those who do not have faith in God, being secular, humanitarian or even atheist, cannot deny the fulfilment of peace as a moral obligation. Submission to the Divine Will requires the implementation of Divine Commandments in the individual and in society (26).

3-4. Islamic Revelation is guidance for Muslims, a blueprint for individual and social action. It is not only a matter of belief in a Divine word, or in a Sacred Book, but an implementation of Divine commands and a realization of Divine Imperatives (27). Given the unity

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(25) "And peace to all who follow guidance." (20:47); “Peace, a Word (of salvation) from a Lord most merciful" (36:58).

(26) “For me, I have been Commanded to serve the Lord of this city, Him who has sanctified it and to whom (belong) all things. And I am commanded to be of those who bow in Islam to God's Will" (27:91).

(27)"And We have send down to thee the Book. explaining all things, a Guide, a Mercy, and Glad Tidings to Muslims."(16:89);“Say:the Holy Spirit has brought the Revelation from thy Lord in truth, in order to strengthen those who believe, and as a Guide and Glad Tidings to Muslims." (16:102); "And when it is recited to them,=

of revelation and its essence as a universal religion of peace, all commandments in each step are identical in essence to the commandments in the other steps. The “Ten Commandments" in Judaism are identical in essence to the “sermons on the mount" in Christianity, in spite of the difference in horizon, the external world or the internal world, peace on earth or peace in the soul. That is why Peace is a matter of life and death for all nations without exception(28).

3-5. Islam is nothing else except re-introducing Peace into the world (Judaism) and peace in the soul (Christianity) into the human nature as a living experience, in order to anchor Revelation in Nature. Islam is a natural religion. Any human being is a Muslim by Nature. The belief in one Universal Principal is natural, and disbelief is unnatural (29). Once Islam is adopted, the whole primitive innocence of man appears. Since Islam is the religion of Nature, Nature is good, free and enlightened. Islam is only a confirmation of nature, reasserting natural and primitive innocence (30). That is why there is neither original sin, for which man is not responsible, nor salvation, in which man did not participate.

= they say: We believe therein, for it is the truth from our Lord. Indeed, We have been Muslims, bowing to God's Will, from before this.” (28:53).

(28) “It was We who revealed the Law (to Moses). Therein was guidance and light. By its standard have been judged the Jews, by the Prophets who bowed (as in Islam) to God’s Will, by the Rabbis and the Doctors of Law, for to them was entrusted the protection of God's Book, and they were witnesses thereto." (5:44).

(29)"Again and again will those who disbelieve wish that they had bowed (to God's Will) in Islam." (15:2).

(30)“Is one whose heart God has opened to Islam, so that he has received enlightenment from God (no better than one hard-hearted)?" (39:22).

3-6. That is why everybody has to live as a Muslim, that means accepting all Divine Revelation and submitting our wills to Divine Will [31]. Everybody has to die as a Muslim. Islam here is not a religion, but a state of mind, a purity of the heart and a submission to The Divine Will [32]. Life and death in Islam means conformity between Revelation and Nature, between the Divine Will and the human will, between eternity and time.

3-7. In that sense, only Muslims, can be saved [33]. Damnation does not come necessarily from God by direct intervention to punish the unbelievers, but by the internal disruption of the natural order. Neither does salvation come from direct intervention of God in favor of the believers, but through the maintenance of public order and the survival of the State. Since deeds are the criteria of faith, according to the law of merit, the righteous Muslims are not like the unrighteous unbelievers. The first will survive, whereas the second will perish [34].

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(31)"If then they (your false gods) answer not your (call), know ye that this revelation is sent down (replete) with the knowledge of God, and that there is no God but He! will ye even then submit (to Islam)." (11: 14).

(32)"O ye who believe, fear God as He should be feared, and die not except in the state of Islam" (3:102); "Our Lord, pour out on us patience and constancy, and take our souls unto thee as Muslims (who bow to they will)" (7.126).

(33) "(Abraham) said: And what, 0 ye Messengers, is your errand (now)? They said: We have been sent to a people (deep) in sin: To bring on them (a shower of) stones of clay (brimstone) marked as from thy Lord, for those who trespass beyond bounds. Then we evacuated those believers who were there, but we found not there any just (Muslim) persons except in one house. And we left there a sign, for such as fear that grievous penalty." (51:32-37)

(34) "Shall we then treat the people of faith (Muslims) like the people of sin?" (68:35)

4- The Internal Peace: Peace in the Soul

4-1. The most common of the derivative verbal forms is Aslama which means etymologically, "to submit one's will," or "to bow," or "to surrender." (35). At the same time, the verb means "enter into Islam" (36). Therefore to adopt Islam means to submit one's will to the Divine Will, to obey His Orders and to implement His Commandments. No peace is possible as far as human will is refractory to Divine Commands, resisting Divine Will, or reluctant to implement Divine Imperatives. Without this submission of human will to Divine Will, there will always be grievances and fears. The realization of Divine Orders is manifested through good deeds, not merely words without intentions. Peace is not mere utterance, but internal conviction and external action. Peace is not mere talking, but first feeling and then doing. Peace in the individual comes before peace in Society. Peace in the Soul precedes peace in the World (37). In that sense, Islam, which means the submission to the Divine Will, is the Religion par excellence(38). Islam is conceived neither as forms of rituals, which vary from one religion to another, nor as a legal system for a society in a given moment in history, nor as a belief-system composed of dogmas as historical facts, but only as a value-system based essentially on the submission to the Divine Will.

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(35) They are in the Qur'an 22 of 28 times.

(36) Example: "Nay, whoever submits his whole self to God and is a doer of good, he will get his reward with his Lord. On such shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve" (2:112)

(37)"The desert Arabs say: We believe! Ye have no fait, but ye (only) say "we have submitted our will to God," for not yet has faith entered Your hearts. But if you obey God and His Apostle, He will not be little ought of your deeds." (49:14).

(38)"The religion before God is Islam (submission to His Will)" (3.19).

4-2 Liberation

Submission to the Divine Will does not mean servitude, even if it is vis à vis God as Master, rather the liberation of human consciousness from all yokes of servitude to human powers. Linguistically, the Islamic utterance (Shahada) makes two statements, beginning with one verb, (Ashhad), which means "I witness." The first is a negative sentence, "La Ilaha," which means "No gods." The second is an affirmative one, "Illa Allah," which means "except God." Therefore, in order to be a Muslim, a double act of consciousness is required. The first is a negative one, to deny all pseudo-gods of the time, including human passions, desires and interests as strong motivations substituted for God as a pure one. The second is an affirmative affiliating of oneself to One High and Universal Principal.

4-3. The submission to the Divine Will is not only an act of will, but also an act of intelligence since no submission is possible without prior knowledge of Reason [39]. Since submission is an act of Reason, it is also a free act, since freedom is a dictum of Reason. The same derivative verbal form (Sallama) means to accept freely a just decision without constraint or compulsion[40]. No peace is possible without the belligerents obeying and implementing a just sentence of just tribune. Peace can not be imposed, neither on individuals nor on

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(39) "And knowledge was bestowed on us in advance of this, and we have submitted to God (in Islam)" (27;42).

(40) "But no, by thy Lord, they can have no (real) faith, until they make Thee judge in all disputes between them, and find in their souls no resistance against Thy decisions, but accept them with the fullest conviction." (4:65).

Nations, without free acceptance and free choice. Imposed peace degenerates quickly into war. A fragile peace would not ever last, because it is not yet achieved in the hearts. Finally, a cold peace is volatile, and will not sustain any renewal of human passions.

4-4. Peace is a race, in which each individual, every society, and all nations have to participate. The first winner is the first Muslim [(41)]. Peace is a concurrence between individuals, societies and Nations for the implementation of Divine Commands, and for the realization of the Universal peace, not a deterrence based on force or dissuasion, as it is now the case in this nuclear age. In this race, there is no difference at all between Muslim Men and Muslim Women [(42)]. Both have to submit their will to the Divine Will in order to obtain the internal peace, peace in the heart, which manifests itself in faith, piety, truthfulness, sincerity, humility, charity, fasting, chastity, thinking wholeheartedly in God.

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(41) "Say: Nay, but I am commanded to be the first of those who bow to God (in Islam) (6:14); "No partner hath He. This am I commanded, and I am the first of those who bow to His Will (in Islam)." (6:163); "And I am commanded to be the first of those who bow to God in Islam." (39:12).

(42) "For Muslim men and women, for believing men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constant, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who fast (and deny themselves), for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much in God's praise, for these has God prepared forgiveness and great reward." (33:35); "It may be if he divorced you (all) that God will give him in exchange consorts better than you, who submit (their wills in Islam), who believe, who are devout, who turn to God in repentance, who worship (in humility) who have (for faith) and fast, previously married or virgins" (66:5).

4-5. Calling for peace is an honorable endeavor, which causes no sadness, nor gives any feeling of humiliation. No nation can be discouraged from pursuing peace [(43)]. This is also one of the meanings of (al-Salm). Living in peace is not a sign of weakness, but a sign of strength. On the contrary, going to war is not a sign of strength but a sign of weakness. Asking for peace is not tendering a lower hand to an upper hand, but tendering an upper hand to raise the lower hand, in order to have two equal partners. Peace requires modesty and humility, not arrogance and false-pride, nor power with arrogance. In the case of Sheba, calling her to Islam was a warning to her against her arrogance, a call to her for her to submit her will to the Divine Will, namely, to Islam [(44)].

4-6. One derivative verbal form in the Qur'an is (Sallama), which means "to save." (Salam) is linked to safety and security[(45)]. There is no peace in a situation without safety and security. Therefore, Peace is linked to Safety and Security. Once internal security becomes a feeling in the individual as well as in society, peace can reign. If the feeling of insecurity prevails, whether based on real threats or on the complex of persecution, war becomes the

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(43) "Be not weary and faint-hearted, crying for peace when you should be uppermost, for God is with you and will never put you in loss, for your (good) deeds" (47:35); "My devotees! No fear shall be on you that day, nor shall you grieve, (being) those who have believed in Our signs and bowed (their wills to Ours) in Islam." (43:69).

(44) "(The Queen) said, Ye chiefs here is delivered to me a letter worthy of respect. It is from Solomon and is (as follows): In the name of God, Most gracious, most Merciful, Be ye not arrogant against me, but come to me in submission (to the religion in Islam)" (27:31).

(45) "But God saved you." (8:43).

only means left for self-defence. Paradise, the symbol of life in peace, is also a place of safety and security [46]. Bowing in prayer is a sign of peace, quietude and internal security. Bowing, bending the body, looking downward, prostrating and bending the body further down, putting the forehead on the floor without any distance between the eyes and the ground, both movements in prayer are signs not only of humility, but also of internal as well as external peace and security [47].

4-7. The highest good deed is the respect of one's parents [48]. Peace, after being eliminated in the soul, and before being realized in the world, passes through family life in which the individual and the social are intertwined. Peace in family life is a prolegomenon for peace in social life. In the family, the future men and women are educated, the future leaders are formed and the future destiny of nations is virtually foreseen. The denial of one's parent is a prototype action for the denial of the whole society.

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(46) "Wherewith God guideth all who seek His good pleasure to ways of peace and safety ... (5:16); "(Their greeting will be): Enter ye there in peace and security (15:46); "Enter ye therein in peace and security. This is a day of Eternal Life" (50:34).

(47) "They had been summoned aforetime, to bow in adoration while they were whole." (68:43).

(48) "We have enjoined on man kindness to his parents. In pain did his mother bear him, and in pain did she give him birth. The carrying of the (child) to his weaning is (a period of) thirty months. At length, when he reaches the age of full strength and attains forty years, he says: 0 my Lord! grant me that I may be grateful for Thy favour, which Thou hast bestowed upon me and upon both my parents; and that I may work righteousness such as Thou may approve. And be gracious to me in my issue. Truly have I turned to Thee and truly do I bow (to Thee) in Islam." (46:15).

5 - The External Peace: Peace in the World

5-1. Once Peace in the Soul is implemented, peace in the World becomes a natural consequence. No peace on Earth is possible without a prior peace in the self. Islam as a religion of peace is conceived for the benefit of man, not for the benefit of God. God spoke and sent messengers to call for peace in the self and on Earth. God is Self-Sustaining, while Man needs an Ideal to be realized and a call to be fulfilled (49). Once Islam is adopted by the act of Witness, lies become impossible and truth is always spelled out (50). To Witness means to unify saying, perceiving, feeling and thinking. To lie is to dissociate between saying on one hand and perceiving, feeling, and thinking on the other hand, between the external world and the internal world. Diplomacy as the art of "say what you do not think, and think what you do not say" is the prototype of a lie. The credibility of politicians is usually at stake because of the nature of political discourse. Once Islam is adopted and witnessed, reality is perceived and truth is spelled out(51). Once Reality and Truth become synonymous, the passage

(49) 'They impress on Thee as a favour that they have embraced Islam. Say: “count not your Islam as a favour upon me. Nay, God has conferred a favour upon you that he has guided you in the faith, if ye be true and sincere” (49:17).

(50) "Who doth greater wrong than one who invents falsehood against God, even as he is being invited to Islam“? (61:7).

(51) “Truly, thou canst not cause the dead to listen, nor canst thou cause the deaf to hear the call, (especially) when they turn back in retreat. Nor canst thou he guide to the blind, (to prevent them) from straying. Only those wilt thou get to listen, who believe in Our signs, and they will bow in Islam." (27:80-81); "Nor canst thou lead back the blind from their straying. Only those wilt thou make to hear, who believe in Our signs and submit (their wills in Islam).” (30:53)

from the peace in the soul to the peace in the World occurs as a natural consequence.

5-2. Peace is a serious matter, not to be dealt with lightly or hypocritically. Peace is not a matter of words but of deeds. It is not implemented by continuous conferences, regular summits or lengthy and everlasting negotiations [52]. The submission to the Divine Will is not only a matter of words but deeds [53]. This submission is conditioned by abandoning the bad deeds and fulfilling the good deeds. This is the meaning of the derivative noun (Al-Salm). Bad deeds are contrary to the submission to Divine Will. The highest deed is the good deed, the righteous deed. Divine Orders are implemented through good deeds, not only through good intentions. Peace is not utterances and statements, but convictions and actions. Peace is not talking but feeling and doing [54].

5-3. Peace is not linked to Might, but to Right. The supremacy of one Nation over another should not be according to its Power,

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(52)"And when they hear vain talk, they turn away therefrom and say: To us our deeds, and to you yours. Peace be to You. We seek not the ignorant" (28:55); “But turn away from them and say Peace! But soon shall they know." (43:89). "And the servants of (God) most Gracious are those who walk on the earth in humility, and when the ignorant address them, they say “Peace.” (25:63)

(53) “Those whose lives the Angels take in state of wrong-doing to their own souls. Then would they offer submission, we did not evil..." (16:28); “That day shall they show submission to God. And all their inventions shall leave them in the lurch." (16:87); “Who is better in speech than one who calls (men) to God, works righteousness and says, I am of those who bow in Islam.” (41:33)

(54) “The desert Arabs say: We believe! But say: ye have no faith, but ye (only) say, “we have submitted our wills to God, for not yet has faith entered your heart. But, if you obey God and his apostles, he will not belittle aught of your deeds.” (49:14)

but according to its legitimate Right. The glory of a Nation is not in the number of Space-rockets, Fighter-planse, tanks and warships it owns, but in the value and ideals it stands for. Might goes up and down, while Right is always high. Might destroys itself by itself, since there is always a more mighty and a less mighty, while Right is self-sustaining because Right does not contradict a Right.

5-4. Peace is linked to justice. Injustice is the main and primary cause of war. Justice requires even relations between two equal partners, while injustice produces an uneven relation between two unequal partners [(55)]. The "invisible wars" such as poverty, misery, famine, epidemics, unemployment, discrimination, exploitation, racism, apartheid, and oppression. All are behind the destruction of peace as much as the "visible wars" such as aggressions and invasions [(56)]. As far as "invisible wars" continue, not only on the material level such as the maldistribution of wealth and unequal development, but also on the moral one namely the relation between the center and the periphery violence and wars will continue. That is why in the Qur'an, one of the derivative verbal forms from the word (Salam), which means peace is (Sallama), which means to give back, to return, and to deliver [(57)]. Peace would reign if each depository, recipient or beneficiary

(55) "Amongst us are some that submit their wills (to God) and some that swerve from justice. Now those who submit their wills, they have sought out (the path) of right conduct" (72:14).

(56) Draft outline for the Report to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Panel of Experts on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace. p. 9:16

(57) “There is no blame on you, provided ye pay (the mother) what Ye offered on equitable terms" (2:233).

returns his deposit to its owner. No peace is possible as long as the depository is withholding the deposit from its legal owner and acquires it for himself. No peace is possible without permanent justice. That is why military occupation, foreign settlements in occupied territories, reservations, deportations and all forms of injustices regarding the relation between people's and lands will continue to be the major cause of war. The State of peace is an ideal state while a state of belligerency is a real one. Islam would vouch for the ideal state against the real one, since the ideal through human action is the only potential real, and since the actual real, as an expression of passions, is volatile. This is expressed by a parable of two belligerent partners and two equal ones. In the first case, belligerency is a result of inequality.

In the second case, equality brings peace (58). Therefore, inequality between any two partners becomes a cause of war, while equality brings peace.

5-5. Whoever greets and salutes, offering peace, cannot be discredited or disbelieved. He has to be taken on his words and be offered peace in return (59). Peace is reciprocal between two partners. If one offers peace, the other accepts it in good faith. A greeting of peace does not generate hostility or anxiety (60) .

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(58) "God puts forth a parable: a man belonging to many partners at variance with each other and a man belonging entirely to one master. Are they equal in comparison?" (39:29).

(59) "And say not to anyone who offers you a salutation: thou art none of a believer." (4:94)

(60) "When those come to thee, who believe in Our signs, say! Peace be on you" (6:54); “There came our messengers to Abraham with glad tidings. They said: Peace! He answered: Peace! And hastened to entertain them with a roasted calf.” (11:09); “Abraham said: Peace be on thee..." (19:47); "Behold, they entered his Presence =

One of the derivative noun-forms is (al-Salm), which also means peace. Peace means here a conditional, contractual and two-way movement between any two belligerents. If one shows signs for peace, the other has to receive it. If one shows readiness for peace, the other has immediately to yield [(61)]. Applied to International relations, Peace is reciprocated by peace. If a Nation manifests a desire for peace, the other nation reciprocates by peace. If a Nation manifests a desire for peace, the other nation reciprocates. An offer of peace can never be rejected. If a Nation offers guarantees of peace to another Nation, the state of belligerency then ends. War then have no justification any more[(62)]. The highest guarantee of peace is to diffuse the causes of war: occupied land returned, injustice lifted-up, and discrimination abolished. However, if a nation transgresses against another Nation and does not offer any guarantees of peace, its aggression is naturally encountered by self-defense-- Peace for peace, War for war [(63)]. The absence of guarantees such as: occupied territories not returned, invasion not ended, oppression not banned, injustices not lifted, or discrimination not eliminated. Here is a prototype of Jihad

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= and said: Peace. He said Peace (and thought: these seem) unusual people." (51:25); "When they entered his presence and said: peace, he said: We feel afraid of you." (15:52).

(61)"but if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in God." (8:61).

(62) "Therefore, if they withdraw from you but fight you not, and (instead) send you (guarantees of) peace, then God hath opened no way for you (to war against them)." (4:90)

(63) "Thereto, if they withdraw not from you, nor give you (guarantees) of peace, besides restraining their hands, seize them and slay them. In their case, we have provided you with a clear argument against them." (4:91)

as a Just war. Jihad is only a defensive war against all kinds of oppression, once all peaceful means have been exhausted.

5-6. Political power prevents people from submitting their will to the Divine Will. Their submission to the political power is contrary to their submission to the Divine Will. Solomon asked his Chiefs to destroy Queen Sheba's Throne in order to liberate her people from her power [(64)]. Their submission to her was servitude, while their submission to God is freedom. Therefore the only way to settle disputes between nations is to surrender their wills to God's Will. If a nation disobeys, it is reminded by the Divine message without compelling and forcing it [(65)]. Peace cannot be implemented by war, other-wise it will be a contradiction in terms. Ends do not justify means. Peace between nations can be implemented only through peaceful means. Nations "unbound" such as big Powers are the major causes of limited or generalized wars. Nations "bound" by a Universal Code of Ethics can generate peace. The big Powers, as "unbound" nations, are serf-nations, subject to their desires and greediness, while the "bound" nations, abiding by the universal code of ethics, are free-nations. The question is, how far International Law, United Nations Charter, Declaration of Human Rights or Declaration of Peoples Rights represent a Universal Code of Ethics?

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(64) "He said (to his own men): Ye chiefs! Which of you can bring me her throne before they come to me in submission?" (27:38)

(65) "So, if they dispute with thee, say: I have submitted my whole self to God and so have those who follow me. And say to the peoples of the Book and to those who are unlearned: Do you (also) submit yourselves? if they do, they are in right guidance. But if they turn back, thy duty is to convey the message." (3:20)

5-7. To argue that, first, Islam as a religion of peace, presenting a universal code of Ethics in order to implement peace in the soul as well as peace in the world, can be seen as religious ethics from which enlightened seculars shy away, an ethical approach to International relations which professional politicians do not share, an individualistic view on peace, beginning with peace in the individual before peace in society, which sociologists suspect, and a subjective vision, departing from the internal to the external peace, to the extend of being simplistic, idealistic and impractical. However, returning to simple life was always a human dream. Given the extreme difficulties in managing complexities, humanity began to lose its vision of clarity. Ideals have always worked in history as final goals, more than efficient causes. Theology of hope has much more Power than positive and dogmatic theologies.

Second, submission to the Divine Will may be seen as an impossible task for all humans to rally to, since every individual or nation would interpret The Divine Will in his or its favor, defending her or its own interest. However, Divine Will is expressed in Divine Commands, which represent prototypes of a Universal Code of Ethics. Nobody can question the Universalism of the “Ten Commandments” in Judaism, of the “sermon on the Mount” in Christianity, of the “five Prohibitions” in Buddhism, or even the “Moral” and the “Categorical” imperatives in Kant's Ethics, for example.

Third, the argument of practicality is often misused. Instrumentalism was always a justification for war. Peace is an endeavor, an effort to spend, a struggle to endure, but it is above all a conviction

and a striving. If humanity yields to interests, small or big , it will sink down into continuous wars. If humanity identifies itself with the Universal Code of Ethics, it will elevate itself to Eternal Peace. It is up to humanity to choose between failure of nerve and moral courage, between eternal damnation and eternal salvation.

6- The Realities of the Muslim World.

6-1. It may be argued that the realities of the Muslim World nowadays, violence, civil wars, kidnapping, hijacking, tortures, assassinations are far from this ideal described just now Islam as a religion of peace and a Universal Code of Ethics. If this ideal is not practiced by the Muslims themselves, how can it be applied by non-Muslims in the rest of the world? Indeed, such an argument could be valid if the Muslims had tried to apply the ideal and failed. On the contrary, the realities of the Muslim World are what they are because of the absence of this Ideal. Muslim societies are not yet prepared for life in peace. Peace is not reigning, neither in the external, nor in the internal world, neither on Earth, nor in the Soul. Muslim Societies are suffering from the most horrible forms of social, economic and political injustices. As far as these forms continue, Muslim Societies will not be prepared for life in peace. Once these forms are lifted-up, peace would reign. The intention of the gradual Revelation in history was to prepare peoples, societies, and nations for life in peace and security. Once the purpose of Revelation would be fulfilled, the distance between the Ideal and the Real would disappear.

6-2. In the Muslim World nowadays, there, are seven forms of injustices which are behind all kinds of violence and disturbance in

the public Order, on the international as well as on the national scenes. They are at heart everywhere, motivating individuals and dissident groups for action and inviting peoples for revolt.

First, the occupation of the land as a left-over of the colonial era. In spite of the huge process of decolonization, parts of the Muslim World are still occupied: Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir. Occupation can also be indirect, such as the presence of foreign military bases in many parts of the Muslim World (Saudi Arabia, Turkey). In Islam, the Kingdom of God is in Heaven and on Earth, not only a Kingdom in heaven (Christianity) or a Kingdom on Earth (Judaism). Decolonization is a just war, and Jihad is legitimate for those expelled from their homes and expatriated [(66)]. As interpreted, the Jihad is a defensive war to reestablish justice and order. Occupation occurs through aggressive wars and ends by liberating wars.

6-3. Second, internal oppression and dictatorial regimes are behind a lot of internal violence in the Muslim World. The rule of the Muslim majority by secular minority, in the name of secular political ideologies, Liberalism, Socialism, Nationalism, Marxism is a usurpation of power. The source of authority in Islam is neither heredity (Kingdoms), nor coups d'etat by Free officers (People's republics), nor referendums (Parliamentary systems), but Islamic Law. The Political power is only an executive power, neither a legislative nor a judiciary power. In Islamic Rule, freedom of

(66) "To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight) because they are wronged, and verily, God is most powerful for their aid. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of what is right (for no cause), except that they say, Our Lord is God." (22:39).

expression is the duty of every Muslim man and Muslim woman knowing the Law. Each must order the good to be done and prevent the evil from being done [(67)]. He has to begin with peaceful advise, then by appealing to the judiciary, and finally by a revolt against the despot who does not apply the rule of Law. Although the high Judge is nominated by the head of State, he cannot be dismissed by him. On the contrary, the head of State can be dismissed by the high Judge if the former does not hear and obey the advise of the knowledgeable people, and before a revolt against him occurs. As long as political regimes in the Muslim World continue to rule in the name of secular ideologies, practicing the most horrible forms of oppression and dictatorship, violence will always continue to destabilize these regimes, supported by foreign Powers. Muslim Societies can be prepared for life in peace, once freedom of expression stipulated in Islam is implemented in practice.

6-4. Third, the polarity between rich and poor inside Muslim societies has reached a stage where a few people own almost all the wealth, and the majority is starving. The mal- distribution of wealth between those who have and those who have not, between oil rich countries and poor countries, between royal families and populace, between multi millionaires and the majority living under the poverty line, is a major cause of social unrest. As a result, national capital has flown to international capital, and national sovereignty has yielded to multi-national corporations. In Islam, wealth cannot

(67) "Let there arise out of you a band of people, inviting to all that is good, enjoying what is right, and forbidding what is wrong." (3:104); "Ye are the best of Peoples, evolved for mankind, enjoying what is right, forbidding what is wrong."(3:110).

be in the hands of the minority ruling the majority. It has to be divided and given to all social classes in the whole nation (68).

Wealth and the whole world belong to God. Man is only a depository. He has the right to use, to invest and to spend according to his needs. But he has no right to misuse, to monopolize, or to exploit. If he does, the State, representing mass interests, intervenes. The State has the right to nationalize, to confiscate and to own. General interests cannot be owned individually such as grass (agriculture), fire (industry) and salt (Big Trade). God in Islam is defined in terms of human needs: food against hunger, as well as security against fear (69). A society would collapse, and the State would be destroyed, if we had a high Palace, looking over a closed well, that means the domination by the wealthy minority of the poor majority (70). As long as a few are dying from satiety and over-filled stomachs, while millions are dying from drought, hunger and poverty Muslim societies are not yet prepared for life in peace.

6-5. Fourth, the dismantling of the Muslim World, the breaking of its indestructible tie. the dismemberment of one organic body, continue to be one major cause of violence, border clashes,

(68) “What God has bestowed on His Apostle (and taken away) from the people of the township, belongs to God, to his Apostle, to Kindred and Orphans, the needy and the wayfarer, in order that it may not (merely) make a circuit between the wealthy among you.” (59:7).

(69) "Let them adore the Lord of this House, who provides them with food against hunger and with security against fear (of danger)." (56:3-4)

(70) “How many populations have We destroyed, which were given to wrong-doing? They tumbled down on their roofs. And how many wells are lying idle and castles lofty and well-built?" (22:45).

and internal civil wars. Before the era of colonization, the Muslim World was one united world. Every Muslim could travel from one corner to the other, looking for knowledge, without barriers or frontiers. After decolonization, new National States were created against the will of the people and contrary to their long Traditions. With ignorance, backwardness and foreign conspiracies to strengthen ethnic and religious differences, wars began in the borders between two countries or inside the same country [(71)]. The old Roman dictum, "Devide ut Imperes," was successfully implemented by big Powers to divide the Muslim World and to swallow it piece-meal. As long as the dismantling of the Muslim World continues, border clashes from the outside and civil wars from the inside will also continue. Once the Muslim World returns to its unity, as the image of god's Unity, there will be no more violence and bloodshed[(72)]. The desire for unity is deep, in the present, just as in the past. The Muslim World is inspired toward its unity, antagonized by big Powers unity sought in all its forms, even the partial unity between any two neighboring States, in the name of Arab or African Unity or in the name of Afro-Asian Solidarity or the Non-Aligned movement.

6-6. Fifth, the backwardness of the Muslim World called in modern terms underdeveloped or developing countries is another cause of disturbance. The lack of infra-structure on all levels,

(71) Wars between two countries such as Iran and Iraq, Egypt and Lybia Wars inside the same country such as in Sudan (North-South), Morocco(Polizario), Lebanon (civil war), Philippines (Muslims in Mindanao)

(72) "Verily, this Brotherhood of yours is a single Brotherhood, and I am your Lord and cherisher." (21:92; 23:52)

especially public services, makes the whole society live in distress and constant depression. All phenomena of underdevelopment such as dependency in food and nutrition. foreign aid, increase of import and decrease of export, lack of heavy industry, widespread consumerism, deficit in balance of payment, foreign debts, open-door policies, tax evasion, the rise of new middle classes, corruption, foreign banks draining money from inside to outside, black markets, brain-drain, lack of planning, these create a psychosis of frustration in those who cannot compete in the new life-style. Therefore, crime increases, and security decreases. As long as Muslim societies continue in that kind of social disorder, neither peace nor security will reign. It is quite easy through Islam, to prepare Muslim Societies for life in peace by asserting the sense of Vocation of a Muslim in particular and a human being in general, as a Vice-Gerant of God on Earth, fulfilling his message and realizing his Word [73]. The struggle against underdevelopment is a struggle for peace.

6-7. Sixth, Westernization of Muslim Societies and the threats to cultural identity are behind the upsurge of Islamic Fundamentalism and the practice of violence against the symbols of Western imitation and pro-Western Policies. As long as the process of Westernization continues, a counter-reaction will always be generated in defense of indigenous Tradition. The polarity between the Self and the Other will reach a point of no return. Development

(73) "Behold, The Lord said to the angels: I will create a Vice-Regent on Earth..." (2:30); "0 David! We did indeed make thee a Vice-Gerant on Earth..." (38:26). "It is he who hath made you (His) agents, inheritors of the Earth..." (6:165; 10:14; 10:73; 35:39; 7:09; 7:74. 27.62).

does not necessarily mean adoption of the Western model: growth, modernization, consumerism. An endogenous development rather than the exogenous one would protect Cultural Identity. As long as the relation between the Center and Periphery continues as it is now: Trainer and Trainee, Master and disciple, Teacher and pupil, knowledgeable and ignorant, a one way relation from those who have to those who have not, and a dissemination of Knowledge from the center to the periphery, the complex of superiority created in the other, and the complex of inferiority created in the Self will continue as one of the major sources of violence and causes of revolt. Once all nations become equal partners, having an equal share in the making of humanity; once the process of Knowledge and learning becomes a two-way process; once the whole history of all mankind is not reduced to one of its phases, that of European Modern Times, then Muslim Societies will be better prepared for life in peace [74].

6-8. Seventh, the lack of mass-mobilization in the Muslim world, for a huge project of a global Renaissance, leaves the masses an easy target for all kinds of under-ground movements to expand. Violence, bloodshed and wars are not inherent in human nature. It is an exception to the Rule. Violence is usually committed, whether by secret organizations (for instance Jihad group and Hezbollah) in Lebanon, or by a big Power (American invasion of Grenada and

(74) "To each among you have We prescribed a Law and an Open Way. If God had so willed, he would have made you a single people but (His plan is) to test you in what he hath given you: so strive as in a race in all virtues…" (5:51); "If thy Lord had so willed, he could have made mankind one people, but they will not cease to differ." (9:118. 16:93)

bombing of Libya, Russian invasion of Afghanistan). The global commons are peaceful. The abolition of all political parties, the oppression by one usually in power or the acceptance of a multi-party system, without any equal balance of power and with an election result of 99.99% for the ruling party, make the presence of an illicit, secret and militant Islamic party an attraction to Muslim youth. It is astonishing that in the whole Muslim World, there is not one legal and popular Islamic party which would fill the gap in the political life, in spite of the complaint, expressed by all political leaders, about the political vacuum in their respective societies. The idea of a militant Islamic party is at heart in every Muslim Society [(75)]. Once that party is allowed, the Muslim Masses will have an open forum to express their grievances against the status quo and their hopes for their ideal societies.

6-9. As long as these actual dramas of the Muslim World are not resolved, Muslim Societies will be unprepared for life in Peace, and the victims of the most horrible forms of violence and war. Nuclear arms, star-wars and problems of disarmament are more linked to Western Societies. If it is easy to find solutions for nuclear

(75) In the Qur'an there is a duality between the party of the devil, applied to actual secular parties, and the party of God, which is usually a secret militant Islamic group. The party of the devil, "The Evil One," has got the better of them. So he has made them lose the remembrance of God. They are the party of the Evil One. Truly it is the Party of the Evil One that will perish." (58:19); "But people have cut off their affair (of unity) between them) into sects; Each party rejoices in that which is with itself…" (23:63, 30:32); the party of God, such as: "As to those who turn (for friendship) to God, His Apostle and the (Fellowship of) believers. It is the fellowship of God that must certainly Triumph"(5:26); "They are the party of God. Truly, it is the Party of God that will achieve felicity" (58:22).

threats through bilateral agreements between nuclear powers and through East-West Summits, it is very difficult to solve the seven dramas of the Muslim World.

The Threats to the Western World are recent, only since the second World War, and created by actions of the Western Powers themselves. The dramas of the Muslim World are the heritage of a long history since its decadence, and caused mostly by the other. The preparation of Western Societies for life in peace requires political treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The preparation of Muslim Societies for life in peace requires a change in the course of history.

ISLAM AND RECONCILIATION

I - What is Islam?

The essence of Islam, described by a phenomenologist, may, differ from the factual Islam in the common place. Islam is usually seen as a dogmatic, ritualistic and fatalistic religion. The history of religions may be responsible for this image, given the general theoretical framework of the discipline, derived from particular religions and judging the whole according to some of its parts. Sometimes Islam is connected to violence, sectarianism, back-ward-ness, hunger, drought, and civil wars. Sociologists, anth-ropologists and political scientists may be also responsible for such an image, based on analogy between de facto and de jure. The factual judgement is not a value judgment. Such phenomena in the Muslim world are due to socio-political circumstances in develop-ing societies, not to Islam as a belief system.

The term “ideology” may fit Islam better than the term “religion" in the usual sense. Islam is a system of ideas for understanding the world and changing it. It is a world view, theoretical as well as practical, oriented to conceive and to perform. It is a Universal Code of Ethics, coherent and homogeneous, describing the Ideal de scending to the Real, and the Real ascending to the Ideal, Logos actualizing into praxis, and praxis as a realization of Logos, an active dialectics between Idealism and Realism through action.

(*) Seminar on Reconciliation and the Role of Religion in Situations of Armed Conflict, 16-21 November 1989 Sigtuna, Sweden.

Islam can be described more geometrico, in a sketchy and schematic way, and far away from apologetics, as follows:

1- Islam is a natural religion. Revelation and nature are identical. Revelation adds nothing to Nature and Nature reveals everything. Nature requires and Revelation responds. Nature empowers and Revelation accommodates. There is no super-natural order. All natural phenomena are subject to natural laws, uniform and permanent. Grace is also natural, the infinite energy and the unlimited possibilities in man for action.

2- Islam is a rational religion. Revelation and Reason are identical. Nothing goes beyond human reason. The realm of the irrational, the non-rational or the super-rational denotes a lack of trust in human reason and the prevalence of passion. There are no mysteries beyond reason, subject to faith alone. Since revelation is natural and reason understands nature, Islam would be a complete identity between revelation, nature and reason.

3- Islam is a humanistic religion. Man is the center of the Universe. Islam is a religion already modernized, from Theocentrism to Anthropocentrism, from the inauthentic to the authentic. The whole world is created for man. Man is the Vice-Gerant of God on earth. God even described Himself in Human attributes such as: science, power, life, word, and will. The humanization of God and the divinization of man reduce the distance between God and man to the minimum, a difference in Degree, not in Kind. The humanization of God is the Ideal descending towards the Real. The divinization of Man is the Real ascending to the Ideal.

4- Man is affiliated to the Transcendence, a Universal principle which transcends time and space. Otherwise, the Universal code of ethics would be impossible. The Universal principle is epistemological, addressing the possibility of an existing and knowable truth, as an ontological principle, the cause of the existing world; and as an axiological principle, the foundation of the universal code of ethics. The universal principle manifests itself in the Good Deed itself, based on the good intention.

5- Man is free. He can decide and choose. He is individualized by his freedom, from Divinity within. Since man is rational and there are objective attributes in human actions, making them right or wrong, reason conceives and freedom chooses. Human freedom is an experience of the affirmation of self-identity and autonomy. Other experiences of revolt, negation, protest and resistance reveal the desire for liberation, which is freedom in action.

6- Man does not live alone. He lives with others in community. He is a part of a whole, a member in a social group. His social justice and equity would distribute the common wealth among all, in accord with work and productivity. Sharing the common wealth between all is a sign of the unity of God. Common ownership is a link between Divine and Immanent ownership. God owns everything and inherits everything. The Rulers have the right to confiscate and to nationalize private property for the benefit of the community. The common welfare comes before the individual interest. Work is the only source of value. Usury is gain without effort. Wealth does not increase by itself, but only through work and production.

7- Islam is a religion of progress. Revelation developed in history parallel to the development of the human consciousness. Revelation pushes human consciousness, and human consciousness, on its own merits, pushes progress in history. The beginning was the distinction between consciousness and cosmos, recognition and matter, idea and object, mind and body. The cause was the liberation of human consciousness from the over-whelming power of the matter in a dialectics of success and failure for a final and accumulative experience. The end is the fulfillment of the autonomous and freed human consciousness. Progress is in the nature of things. Development is a phenomenon of life. Becoming is the essence of Being. Progress in revelation can be seen in the development, from the non-monotheistic to the monotheistic religions. Within monotheistic religions, it can be seen also in the development of the Abrahamic religion from Judaism to Christianity and from Christianity to Islam.

8- Islam is a world-affirmative religion. This world is the road to the other world. Life requires work, effort and surmounting obstacles in order to achieve one's goals. Performance in this world is the criteria of excellence in the other world, according to one's merit. Monastic life is an individual option, not standard practice. Internal piety is exteriorized in external perfection. The moral law is not only individual and subjective, but also ontological and objective. The desire for eternity is a real human experience. Death is at the same time a limitation on the temporal life and an extension of the eternal life.

II. What Reconciliation is about ?

Given the essence of Islam, which is Nature, Reason, Man, Transcendence, Free will, Community, Progress and World - Affirmation, then reconciliation is easily done. Islam is known as the religion of Tawhid, which means unity or more precisely unification. Islam is against all forms of dissociation or opposition between the two sides of any equation. Religions are usually known by their inherent dualism, even monotheistic traditions in the historical context. Manicheism became in history the religion par excellence, the common denomination in all religions and even in popular traditions.

1- Since Islam is a religion of nature, any opposition between faith and science is left aside. Nature is full of signs denoting the presence of the Global unity. As the scientist explores nature further and further, he can also discover its internal wisdom, a philosophia perennis, called in Islam the Transcendence. Faith is not against science since faith is reason and reason is nature. Likewise, science is not against faith, since science is nature and nature is revelation and revelation is reason. There is no religious authority to dictate the articles of faith or to decree scientific laws. The conflict between faith and science is actually a power struggle between two social forces, conservative and progressive. The first closes and the second opens. The first formalizes and dogmatizes and the second deformalizes and dedogmatizes.

2- Since Islam is a religion of reason, any opposition between reason and faith is left behind. Reason is the form of faith and faith is the content of reason. The means of knowledge are: the senses,

accumulative experiences, internal as well as external reason, intuition and inference, and the scriptures, which are historically authentic, linguistically understood, literally as well as metaphorically, and ethically performed. Any deficiency in the scriptural arguments regarding these three dimensions of historical authenticity, linguistic interpretation and ethical behavior makes them purely hypothetical arguments. Nothing in faith goes beyond reason, and nothing in reason goes against faith. Any apparent contradiction between faith and reason is solved by maintaining reason as base and faith as base. Religions are rational duties.

3- Since Islam is a humanistic religion, any opposition between God and man, between Theology and Anthropology, between Divine Rights and Human Rights, is pushed aside. God spoke for man. Man is the partner of God and his interlocutor. Man is the intention of God, his partner in dialogue. He is the object of Divine reflection, namely revelation. He is the center of the Divine word. There is no need even for images such as "God made himself man," or "the spirit became flesh." The idea is enough, in order not to fall into literal and physical interpretation. Defending man is honoring God. Struggling for Human Rights is implementation of Divine Imperatives.

4- Since Islam is a religion of Transcendence, the universal principle manifesting in the good deed, no division would occur between faith and work. Faith has no other content except affiliation to the Universal Principle. Transcendence means going always beyond, "solvitur in excelsis." Faith without works does not save. It is merely a word without meaning, an idea without action.

Likewise, works without faith lacks the good intention and the universal standard.

5- Since Islam is a religion recognizing human freedom, any opposition between Divine will and human will is surmount-ed. The Divine will is not personalized, but materiallized figuratively in the possibilities for human actions. Man is not living alone in a docile world. He is living amidst conflicts between interacting powers and taking part in the struggle. The obstacle requires resistance. At the same time, it is valued, since it helps in sharpening and strengthening human actions. Predestination is nothing else than destination, the vocation of man on earth, his message to be fulfilled. Man is capable of saving himself by himself. He does not need an external savior. He is only responsible for his own actions. He is born innocent, since nature is innocent, free from peccatum (sin). An ethical error requires only a renewal, namely repentance.

6- Since Islam is a communal religion, any opposition between the individual and the social is resolved by maintaining the rights of the human initiative and the rights of the community to maintain equity and social justice. Work is essentially a self-fulfillment, an implementation of the common cause, a realization of man's vocation on earth. Its value is not in production for one's self, but in the service due to others. It is not labor in the economic sense, requiring a salary and aiming at profit. Austerity as a model of native life prevents the whole community from consumerism. National savings are used for development.

7- Since Islam is a religion of progress, any opposition between tradition and modernity is resolved. Tradition is one phase,

modernity is another. All societies go from traditionalism to modernism. Tradition without modernity generates conservatism, whereas modernity uprooted from tradition falls into secularism, antagonizing the mass-culture. The process of modernization is one of change through continuity. The model of discontinuity may succeed in one phase but not in all. It implies a possible collapse back to tradition. The model of juxtaposition may also succeed in one phase, but it does not prevent dissident voices in favor of integral modernism or integral traditionalism (Japan).

8- Since Islam is a religion of World affirmations, any opposition between the Ideal and the Real, theory and practice, wishful thought and pragmatic expediency, is lifted up. The ideal is not an utopia, but realizable. The real is not refractory to change, but "idealizable". There is no room for despair, frustration or depression. There is also no room for naive optimism, wishful thinking and narcissism, since the gap between the Ideal and the Real can be bridged. Life is trial and error, failure and success, to do and to do again, to perform and to perfect.

III. How Reconciliation occurs ?

Given the essence of Islam as the theoretical basis of reconciliation, and given the resolution of religious duality in Islamic unity, reconciliation occurs from the inside world to the outside world, from the self to the universe. Reconciliation is the purpose of creed. Shari'a offers the modes as follows:

1- Reconciliation in the inside world occurs in the self, by realizing the unity between thought and feeling, words (internal) and deeds (external). Any dislocation between the internal and the

external leads to hypocrisy and duality in personality. Thinking without feeling is abstraction and lack of sincerity. Feeling without thinking is emotionalism and ephemeral passion. Saying without doing is hypocrisy and pretension. Doing without saying is a practical silence, lacking the power of utterance and the declared testimony. Thinking and feeling without saying and doing betrays fear and anxiety; it may create incapacity for action. Saying and doing without thinking and feeling is mere noise, tumultuous and hazardous action.

2- Once unity in the Self is maintained, the unity of the first social cell, the family, comes next. The unity of the husband, wife and children is an extension of the unity of the self. The wife is a part of the husband and the children are parts of both. Peace and reconciliation in the hearts of the individuals are the basis of peace and reconciliation in family life. The man protects, sustains and educates. The woman shares responsibilities, supports and cares. Both have equal rights and duties as human beings in spite of a partial division of labor. Privations are due to history, to the development and the education of mankind. Family Law developed from the matriarchal to the patriarchal age. The sense of development and its direction can be used to minimize all privations till they disappear.

3- Once reconciliation occurs in the individual and in the family it shines out in society. Classes in societies are like extended families, including relatives. Since the husband is the first responsible in the family, the ruler Imam, freely chosen by the society is also responsible for the whole community. He is the last

to eat, to drink, to dress and to dwell, after satisfying the needs of all the members of his society. He implements the law. He is only an executive power, not a legislative or a judicial one. The sovereignty is for the law. The source of sovereignty is the people. The judiciary is independent of the executive. It is the high court which supervises the application of the law and the maintenance of social cohesion. Mass supervision through teaching and predication offers a daily critique of the performance of society and its powers. Then if open critique and admonitions do not succeed in correcting the errors and the arrogance of power, a revolt led by the judges and the teachers is launched, in order to recover the harmony and the unity between power and society.

4- Once reconciliation is fulfilled in the individual, in the family and society, it floods over the whole world, through inter-community relations. Complete equality in rights and in duties is assumed among all nations. All nations are equal in front of the universal principle, irrespective of religious denomination, of race and color, of degree of development, whether from the center or from the periphery. Racial discrimination is abominable and against the unity of mankind. Wars between nations, domination, exploitation and occupation by a nation against another. All are against the image of the unity of God reflecting on mankind. Liberation for all the oppressed individuals, families, social classes and nations is the only road for reconciliation. In this regard, Islam is not different from any other religion. What matters is reconciliation in human life, individual and social, in time and history. But a purely subjective reconciliation, without changing the status quo is illusory. An objective reconciliation is the way to salvation.

GLOBAL ETHICS AND HUMAN SOLIDARITY

An Islamic Approach

1 - Introduction: The Essence of Islam

1-1. Although Islam is one of the World's religions, the term "religion" does not completely fit to Islam. In almost all dictionaries, the term "religion" refers to the domains of super-natural, magic, rituals, faith, dogma, and institution. All these components are more linked to popular religion, but they are completely irrelevant to the essence of Islam. They may be more related to certain religious data from Judeo-Christian or Asian origins, or from some African, Latin American or Australian cults. They are subject matter data for analysis of the history of religions, and for the development of religion in history. They are visibly presented by history of religions and sociology of religion. Both are now pouring into anthropology(*).

1-2. The best terms for Islam are Ethics, Human and Social Science, or Ideology. Islam is simply the description of man in society, his primary needs, his moral commitments and his social action. Islam may also be seen as a system of ideas coming from a long historical experience, that of previous revelations in history, validated in reality and re-adjusted according to human capability. Since there is no society without delegation of power, namely the State, Islam presents itself as a socio-political theory for society, or a political ideology for the State. That is why the whole

(*) International Symposium, "The Future of Mankind and Cooperation Among Religions, 13- 18 April 1987. Tokyo, Japan.

belief-system in Islam is a value-system. The Creed is not based on historical facts but on a simple code of behavior. Its validity does not come from material facts or religious institutions, but from its foundation in human life. That is why Islam can be easily compared to Socialism, Capitalism, Marxism, Nationalism, Liberalism, and Popular Democracies more than with other religions in the usual meaning. It can be understood and shared by all human beings irrespective of their religious affiliations.

1-3. The essence of Islam is the basis of its Universalism, which is at the basis of Islamic Global Ethics. Islam is only a final stage in a long development of Revelation in history, from Adam until Jesus Christ. The essence of revelation has been declared in Islam, namely the Transcendence of God, implemented in history by the vocation of man. All previous phases of revelation had the same purpose: freeing human consciousness from All human, social and natural yokes in order to discover the Transcendence of God, namely the affiliation of all human beings to One Universal Principle. The successive phases differ only in schemes, in languages and in applications. The image of God as a Super-natural Power, aimed at liberating human consciousness from subjection to and fear of Natural Powers; the image of God as a Super-natural Power aimed at liberating all oppressed societies from the dictates of Absolute Rulers such as the Pharaohs. Thus, the unity of revelation, in spite of its different phases in history, lays the ground for the unity of religions in their essence and purpose, in spite of their differences in images, perceptions and rituals as forms of action. Islam, however, is the only religion which admits all previous revelations such as Jewish and Christian Revelations.

Judaism stops short before Christ, denying Christian and Islamic revelations. Christianity also stops short after Christ, denying Islamic Revelation. Islam does not deny any of the previous phases of revelation. Even natural religions, not stemming from Abrahamic revelations, are also a part of the Universal Revelation, since there is no society without revelation. Therefore, only Islam is the carrier of the Universal Revelation. Through Islam, the recognition of the past permits a mutual cooperation in the present and sharing a common future.

1-4. Revelation in Islam is a dictum of Reason. It is not anti-rational, irrational or super-rational. Reason is the most common element shared by all human beings. It can conceive infinity, and even subject it to infinitesimal calculus. Rational evidence can be felt and seen by all human beings. Reason is capable of analyzing complexities, reducing them to different kinds of simplicities. Man can communicate with others and arrive at common understanding, and even common agreements, because Reason is common between all human beings and capable of positing common and universal norms. Axioms are the dictums of Reason, just as Values are the imperatives of behavior. Rational Evidence, the Subject, and Natural Good, the Object, are adequate.

1-5. Revelation in Islam is also a dictum of Nature. Islam is the "Religio Naturalis "par Excellence. Islam does not impose on Nature any external rule against Nature and does not minimize Nature's powers of resistance and creativity. Nature enjoys certain conformity, not only in physics concerning natural laws but also in Ethics concerning human norms of behavior. Undoubtedly, human nature develops. However, it contains a permanent element, a

continuum throughout history. Between the presumed "primitive man" and "civilized man" there is change as well as continuity, difference as well as identity. Global Ethics and Human solidarity represent that continuous element in Human Nature, the permanent structure revealing itself within and throughout development.

1-6. Finally, Islam poses from the beginning a complete identity between the Individual, the Community and the Inter-community between their high interests and common welfare. Individual initiatives and creativities are highly encouraged. Social commitments and societal demands are simultaneously maintained. Intercommunity, equality and co-operation between societies are also affirmed. The unity between the Individual, the Community and the Intercommunity is a reflection of the Universal Principle unifying all communities in one humanity. Unity and diversity, identity and difference are two poles of the same reality.

2 - Islam as a Universal Principle: The Transcendence

2-1. God is not a Person, a historical event, nor a natural phenomenon, but a Universal Principle of Reason, revealing Infinity, Self-Sustenance and Unity, namely The Transcendence. Etymologically the verb "Transcendere" means "to go beyond". The Transcendence is a function of reason, an epistemological principle, always going beyond, permanently looking forward against dogmatism and fixed formulations. Truth is always a research for truth. Human concepts about the Transcendence are in fact human images and temporal approximations, far away from relativism, scepticism and agnosticism. The limits of language, as well as the progress of knowledge, would fall short of any absolute

formulations as final words. Therefore, Human Solidarity is epistemologically possible, since there is always a possibility of going beyond differences of customs and interests of different societies, towards One Cognitive Principle. The foundation of Universal Ethics is indeed possible because of the possibility of human Reason postulating a Universal Principle. The "Vanculum Substantiale" of Leibniz, the converging point in human knowledge, is also the foundation of the Sumum Bonum of Aristotle. There is no convergence in practice towards one common goal without being based on a previous convergence in theory towards one Universal Principle. Using Kant's famous terminology, there is no practical reason without being first founded on a pure reason. The will to do is after all a dictum of reason.

2-2. The Transcendence is also an Ontological Principle since pure epistemology without being filled by Ontology would fall into formalism and abstraction. God is the Universal Principle as well as the Universal Being. Reason and Existence are identical. The Transcendence as Ontology is more than Subjectivism. The subject is one and the same time a Knowing Subject and a Knowable Reality. In classical terminology, Essence and Existence are the same. The Essence of God is equal and identical to His Existence, revealing the complete identity between Epistemology and Ontology, between Knowledge and Reality. Therefore, Global Ethics as a dictum of Reason is not an utopian vision expressing a wishful thought, nor mere dreams of visionaries, but is anchored in Human Solidarity. Epistemology and Ontology, are undissolved, like Form and Matter. Global Ethics and Human Solidarity are possible, not only in theory, but also in practice, as a Universal Code of Ethics.

2-3. The Transcendence is also an Axiological Norm, a standard of behavior, and a Universal Code of Ethics. The Transcendence is the Value of the values and the foundation of moral life. Once Epistemology and Ontology are unified, the Transcendence becomes a motivation for human action and an orientation towards a common goal. The Ontological argument deducing Existence from the Essence, and the cosmophysical argument inducing the Universal Principle as Primary Cause, together become a Teleological argument where the Transcendence appears as the Sumum Bonum, the Ultimate Goal for mankind. The Transcendence then appears as a Vocation of Man, a heroic commitment to realize the Universal Principle as a Norm for human behavior and as a Guide for the whole of Humanity.

2-4. Therefore, the Transcendence as an Epistemological, Ontological and Axiological Principle can be shared by all human beings. It is the common heritage of Mankind. The Transcendence is not only revealed but also discovered through human experience. Individual and collective experiences, accumulated throughout history, reveal the struggle of humanity for freedom, justice and equality. Irrespective of creedal formulations and religious affiliations, all human beings would subscribe to the unity of the Epistemological, Ontological and Axiological Principle.

2-5. The challenge then becomes, how far human beings are capable of affiliating themselves to this Universal Axiom, Ontos and Norm, going beyond their limitations in time and space. How can the distance between the Ideal and the Real be bridged through individual and collective human actions? How can the Possible

become Real? How can the Potential become Actual? How can the Transcendence appear in the process of realization of this Universal Unity, between the Epistemological the Ontological and the Axiological in given situations and in concrete examples?

2-6. Global Ethics and Human Solidarity as a guideline for human action are in fact a manifestation of the metaphysical problem of Unity and Diversity. The Transcendence as a Universal Principle indicates the presence of Unity in human life. Since human beings are living in different times and spaces, with different habits and customs, with different languages and perceptions, the diversity of human societies is also affirmed as a real given. The relation between unity and diversity is a relation between the Ideal and the Real, between the Soul and the Body, between God and the World. Unity without diversity is purely utopian, rhetorical, and sometimes hypocritical, to cover the practice of excluding diversity. Diversity without unity is a fall into acute particularism, a cruel relativism and a destructive exclusive pluralism.

3 - Islam as a Universal Code of Ethics: The Good Deed

3-1. Once the Transcendence is affirmed as an Epistemological, Ontological and Axiological Principle, it appears in human action as the Good Deed. Since the Transcendence is a Universal Principle, the Good Deed is also a Universal Deed. The Universal Reason can conceive precisely and clearly the Universal Deed. Accumulated human experiences can offer a consensus for what a Universal Deed is. Since Transcendence dissipates all Relativism, Subjectivism, Scepticism and Agnosticism, the Universal Deed can be perceived by all human beings. Every religion hails the

Universal Deed as the cornerstone of faith: The Ten Commandants in Judaism, the Sermon on the Mount in Christianity, the six proscriptions in Buddhism these are few examples of the Good Deed. It can be positive like "love your neighbor" or negative like "you shall not kill." Hope in Judaism, charity in Christianity, and faith in Islam are also prototypes of the Good Deed. The Good Deed can be formulated in a Kantian way as “Do as if your deed can serve as a rule for all Mankind”.

3-2. The Universal Deed is based on the Good Intention. The Good Intention is a human experience felt by everyone. It is the expression of a deep piety, an extreme sincerity and an absolute purity. A Good Deed without being based on a good intention is fragile. It stops once the real motivation changes. It is even unethical because it is based on hypocrisy and a “double standard” behavior. The good deed in appearance may be based on an evil intention, which leaves room for dupery and treachery. An external good deed cannot serve as a component in Global Ethics because it is changeable, unfounded and self-interested. Only a good deed based on good intention is permanent, founded and disinterested. The good deed based on the good intention is exemplified in human, spontaneous and heroic acts. Using Bergsonian vocabulary it is a spiritual act, an “élan vital” expressing the good in human nature.

3-3. The Good Deed has an internal foundation in thought and feeling, and an external actualization in utterance and action. The Internal Deed as pure thought and feeling is an act of consciousness similar to the silent prayer of the faithful or to the internal piety of the mystic. Global Ethics for Human Solidarity needs external

deeds, since the whole World cannot become a silent temple or a mystical order. However, the External Deed alone, without being founded internally in thought and feeling, even if it satisfies certain material needs, is not a Universal Good Deed, since it lacks the good intention. In this case, the external deed can be hypocritical since it appears externally, as good while internally it has no foundations, not in thought nor in feeling.

3-4. The example of the Good Deed internally based only on thought, without Feeling, is Foreign Aid, with its "give and take" ethics, a calculus of mathematical computerized and quantitative sums, given to the needy, and conceived as things. Things are only added to other things. Sometimes, a good feeling, a sympathy. a compassion, even without an external deed actualized in a thing, has more value than a thing delivered without feeling. The Good Deed based internally only on feeling without thought is volatile, subject to passions and psychological moods. Human compassion, disconnected from a clear theoretical awareness of the State of the world and the actual distribution of wealth, is a pure human sympathy without knowledge, leaving science and knowledge in the hands of the powerful socio-political elites.

3-5. If the Good Deed is internally well founded on thought and feeling, but it is only actualized in utterance, in words and sayings, in statements and declarations, then the deed would be incomplete, feeble and impotent. Denouncing the evil without preventing it, or announcing the good without implementing it, is a void utterance, a rhetorical Global Ethics for Human Solidarity. It is useful in political campaigns and for mass mobilization, but it

has its limits and shortcomings. People need not only words but also deeds. Sometimes deeds are more convincing practical arguments than simple words.

3-6. The Good Deed becomes synonymous to the Transcendence, since both are manifestations of the same Universal Principle, once in Theory and once in Praxis. Even if the Transcendence falls into human images and linguistic formulas, the Good Deed can be an alternative converging point. Therefore, the essence of Islam is simply this: The affiliation to a Universal Principle and the manifestation of the Good Deed. Consequently, Islam so defined can be easily understood as Global Ethics for Human Solidarity. The Universal Principle is the theoretical basis for Global Ethics, and the Good Deed is the practical substratum for Human Solidarity.

4 - Islam as a Unified Action for Human Survival

4-1. The Good Deed is not only an individual deed, based on the Good Intention, but it expresses a collective Action based on Universal Intentions, declared in Islamic Revelation and identical to the Positive Foundations of Human Life. The Good Deed is based on Individual Intention, and the Collective Action is based on the Universal Intention. The Individual Deed is included in the Collective Action for more guarantee of objectivity and efficiency. The individual intention is also inserted within the Universal Intention for more guarantee of Universalism and Globalism. Therefore, the possibility of Global Ethics and Human Solidarity is already laid down on the basis of the Universal Intention and the Collective Unified Action.

4-2. In Islamic Revelation, there are Five Universal Intentions, serving as the positive Foundation of Islamic Law. They can form a core set of values for Global Ethics, a unified collective action for Human Solidarity. First, the preservation of Human Life is an absolute and primary value. In no way and under no circumstances can human life be sacrificed. All laws have to yield if human life is in danger. Life is not only for human beings, but also for nature, as plantation and greenery. Even a dieing man, with a green branch in his hand, inserting it into the soil, has to continue his (her) action, even in agony. All prohibitions are negative only in appearance, but positive in reality. The death penalty aims at saving human life. Ending individual human life spares the collective human life. In Martyrdom, the individual sacrifices his own life for the survival of the community life. Therefore, Human Survival can be a major component in Global Ethics and Human Solidarity, by struggling against hunger, drought, poverty, diseases, nuclear weapons and annihilating wars.

4-3. Second, the protection of Human Reason against all means of its destruction, such as Alcoholism, Drugs, and Ignorance, is a Universal Goal for all Mankind. Human life is a cognitive life and a power for Knowledge. Fighting Drugs and Alcoholism is a struggle against the destruction of Reason. So are the right to know against with holding information, the right for education against ignorance, the right for disseminating knowledge against monopoly. These are human rights. Reason is a prerequisite of human irresponsibility. In the modern age, destruction of reason prevails, the irrational and the absurd flourish in super-industrial societies and in an age of ignorance and brainwashing. Therefore, in developing countries, the protection of human Reason becomes a common goal.

4-4. Third, once, Human Reason is affirmed as a means of knowledge, the fight for a true knowledge becomes a third component for Global Ethics. Truth is different from truth-telling. Truth is Objective and Universal. It is neither partial, deformed nor stereotyped. Truth may be religious, ethical, or scientific. Truth is the object of Reason. It exists, it is knowable and communicable. The Transcendence is an example of religious truth. Virtue is a prototype of an ethical truth. A natural law is also one aspect of a scientific truth. Global Ethics and Human Solidarity cannot be founded on Relativism, Scepticism, Agnosticism or Nihilism, which characterize the modern age in developed societies, nor on the simple will of the leader, the authority of tradition, nor the mechanism of survival in developing countries.

4-5. Fourth, the affirmation of Human Honour and People's dignity is another common goal and a core-value in Global Ethics. The honour is not only individual as expressed in human rights but it is also collective, the honour and dignity of societies, nations and cultures. The honour of Man is not in promiscuity, pornography, nudity, homo-sexuality, nor free licentious sex, as almost the case in advanced industrial societies. The dignity, of a nation is not in its dependency on others in food, nutrition, defense and knowledge, as almost the case in many developing countries. Rather, it is in self-reliance, self-sufficiency, self defense and creativity. Man does not live from bread alone. Since individuals and societies, citizens and nations express themselves and read themselves back into cultures, the self esteem of every culture would reject all derogatory images forged by the Other, such as primitive mentality, primitive man, primitive societies, and savage thought. Pluralistic affirmation of human diversity would have a unifying effect. It would prevent

discord among nations, antagonism among peoples, and it would help transcend cultural boundaries.

4-6. Fifth, the protection of individual and national wealth is a major component for Global Ethics and Human Solidarity. Individual personal belongings are a part of individual rights, for personal use. However, Islam makes a distinction between Eminent Ownership and private property. The first belongs to Divine Prerogatives. God created everything and consequently he owns everything. Man has only been entrusted with what he has as a depository. He has the right to use, not to exploit, and to spend, not to monopolize. In case of misuse, exploitation or monopoly, the legal authority in the Community has the duty of confiscating, dispossessing and nationalizing. Personal interests are parts of the common welfare. National Sovereignty over National natural resources is one of the people's rights. Nationalization of foreign exploiting companies, resistance to multinational corporations, abstention from paying high rate interests for foreign debts, and resisting all forms of economic dependencies, all are duties for the protection of and the sovereignty on National Wealth.

4-7. In conclusion, Global Ethics and Human Solidarity are possible once the religious belief-system serves as a theoretical foundation of human behavior, and once the value system is a natural consequence of the belief system. Since Transcendence is the cornerstone of all belief systems, even those based on Immanence, since the Good Deed based on the Good Intention is shared between all religions, and since a unified collective action for human survival and the preservation of human reason, the persistence on knowable truth and the protection of people, dignity and national wealth can rally a human consensus, therefore, Global Ethics and Human Solidarity are indeed possible.

ANDALUSIAN SYMBIOSIS

1 - Introduction

The fact of an Andalusian symbiosis can be demonstrated from historical references. However, more deeply, this intellectual symbiosis can be seen in major scriptual and philosophical works of both Muslim and Jewish thinkers. For our purposes, a whole historical survey is not needed. Representative examples can show the common model shared by the three religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam around the core belief-system: the Transcendence of God, the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul. In the 17^{th} century, these were considered by Kant as the three ideals of pure reason.

The Andalusian model existed not only in Spain, but also all over the Muslim World, in Fez, Kairuan, Cairo, Babel and Istanbul. Spain is not a geographical boundary but a borderless ideal model. Isaac Israeli lived in Cairo and Kairuan. Saadia ben Yousuf lived in Egypt and Babel. Daud Ibn Meruan al-Mukammas, Joseph al-Basir and Jushua ben Judah, the two famous Karaites, were in Babel. Maimonides was born in Cordoba and lived in Fez, Kairuan and Cairo. Ben Elijah of Nicodemia lived in Egypt, North Africa and Istanbul.

The great bulk of Jewish theologians and philosophers lived in Spain. Solomon Ibn Gabirol, Bahya Ibn Pakuda, Abraham Bar Hiyya, Joseph Ibn Zadik, Judah Halevi, Moses and Abraham Ibn Ezra, Ibrahim Ibn Daud, and Maimonides. Few others lived in Christan Spain, like Hasdai Crescas, or Joseph Albo; and in

(*) UNESCO-IPRA Project. Paris 1992.

Christian Europe, like Hillel ben Samuel in Italy and Levi ben Gerson in France. All became areas of Muslim influence through translations after the downfall of Islamic rule in Spain (1).

Thus, the Andalusian symbiosis stretched outside Spain to the rest of Europe. Thereby, Muslim culture spread out to France and Italy and continued in Northern Europe into late Scholasticism.

Especially, the Andalusian Symbiosis appeared in the intellectual relations between Muslims and Jews in Spain, during the Jewish golden age, in theology, philosophy, mysticism, science, physics, Medicine, Astronomy, and Mathematics. The full impact of Muslim philosophy on Christianity did not occur in Muslim Spain. It came later, after the Reconquesta, through Latin Averoism in Europe, to create another golden age in Mediaeval Christian Thought.

The Andalusian Symbiosis can be traced through the image of the Jews in Muslim writings and the image of the Muslims in Jewish writings. This mutual image of high respect and cooperation shows one multidimensional community, a common citizenship irrespective of religion or ethnicity, in which Religious denomination is a free individual choice, while citizenship is a common dominator.

Muslims are mentioned in Jewish philosophical writings, more than the Jews are mentioned in Muslim philosophical writings. The Jews always referring to their intellectual framework as disciples refer to the masters more than the masters refer to the

(1) Out of eighteen Jewish philosophers mentioned by Isaac Husik in his "History of Mediaevel Jewish Philosophy," eight are in Muslim Spain, two in Christian Spain (France and Italy), one in Egypt and Kairuan, and one between Egypt, Kairuan and Islanbul.

disciples. Muslims established the norms and the Jews applied them. Jewish references to Muslims are full of admiration, while Muslim references to the Jews may be somehow critical concerning Biblical Scripts.

Islam itself from the beginning is linked to Judaism and Christianity. The Symbiosis is done already in the Qur'an, in spite of some criticism of the Tradition, of dogma and of religious practices. This was similar to some Jewish criticism of the time, like that of Labid Ibn al-A'sam, of Jewish anthropomorphism. Qur'anic criticism of Christian tradition was similar to many criticisms during the Patristic period, regarding the authority of the Bible (Celsus), or Trinitarianism (Arius), as well as to religious practice, like the Gnostics. The same kind of critical Islamic tradition was continued by Muslim Biblical criticism.

Inter-religious symbiosis occurred between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It is a religious model in the name of Islam, more than an ethnic model in the name of Arabism. Islam is the ideal, Arabism is the vehicle. Islam refers to a Worldview, while Arab refers to language. The Islamic Worldview has been carried by many vehicles: Arabs, Persians, Turks, Mongols, Africans, and even modern Europeans. It has been expressed through many languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, Latin, Swahili and even modern European languages, by European Muslims.

Religious Thought is built up on four different levels. First, the translation of Greek and Islamic works into Hebrew, finding new vocabulary and re-expressing the original Greek or Islamic Thought into Hebrew. Second, Biblical Scripture, the common

source for the three Abrahamic religions. Third, theology, offering belief systems more converging than diverging. Fourth, Philosophy, as a converging worldview shared by the three traditions.

II - Translation

As the Syrian Christians in the East had translated Greek philosophy and science directly from Greek to Arabic or indirectly through Syriac, introducing Western Culture to the East, Jews and Christians in Spain have translated, in return, Islamic philosophy and science from Arabic to Hebrew, or from Hebrew to introducing Islamic Culture to the West. The impact of Muslim philosophy and science in Europe outside Spain has been carried through these translations. The Arabs in the East in early times, as in the West in later times, were the intermediators between Ancient Greece and the modern West.

The Andalusian Synthesis began in the twelve century in Palermo and Toledo, the center of Spain. In the archbishop's palace in Toledo was founded a college of translation, like the one founded in Baghdad during Ma'mun's rule, via the Diwan al-Hikma, which carried the task for three quarters of a century. In Toledo there were John of Spain, Gerard of Cremona, Michael Scot, and Herman the German. Also Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans worked with Jews and Christianized Arabs. They were encouraged by two learned bishops: Raymond of Toledo and Rodriguez Ximmenes. Jewish and Christian translators contributed to the diffusion of Islamic Culture in the Christian world. Prominent translators worked at Toledo to translate into Latin the Arabic versions of Greek Philosophy.

Translations were also made directly from Greek by Robert Grossetest and Wiliam of Moerbeke, Partial works in the 12th century and ones in the 13th century. In the later part of the twelveth and early part of the thirteenth century, through the Crusades, through the Moorish civilization in Spain, through the Arabs in Sicily, through the Jews as translators and mediators, Aristotle invaded Christian Europe and transformed Christian Philosophy. The impact of Maimonides on scholastic philosophy was due to the translations done in the thirteen century, in Europe of Aristotle from Arabic translations or from the Greek original, in Constantinople after it fell into the hands of the Crusaders. Translations would include not only those from Arabic to Hebrew, or from Arabic to Latin, directly or through Hebrew, but also the Greek source itself. Jews preserved Muslim Culture through these translations from Arabic to Hebrew. Sometimes the original Arabic is lost and the work exists only in Hebrew. Ibn Dauod's Arabic original version Emunah Ramah is lost. Two Hebrew translations exist. More Nebukim of Maimonides was translated from the original Arabic into Hebrew, and was more widely read then than restored into Arabic. The original Arabic of Ibn Gabirol's “fons Vitae” is lost. In the twelveth and thirteenth centuries, the Jews were the intermediators between Muslims of Spain and the Christians of the West, through their translation's from Arabic to Hebrew, better known to the Europeans, and later on to Latin.

Arabic language was in many works the original. Ibn Daoud and Maimonides wrote in Arabic. After Maimonides, Hebrew took over. Commentaries on the "Guide of the Perplexed," on the Torah and many others by Saadia, Bahya, Ibn Gabirol, Halevi, Ibn Zaddik

and Daoud were translated from Arabic to Hebrew. There is only a Hebrew translation of an Arabic commentary written by a Muslim theologian on the twenty five propositions on which Maimonides built his demonstration of the existence of God. Grammatical and lexical works of Hayyuj and Janah were written in Arabic. The result of these translations was that philosophical and scientific works became accessible to all those who knew Hebrew, instead of being confined to the land of Arab Culture. Besides, the Hebrew language was enlarged, and developed a new Hebrew vocabulary, with Philosophic and scientific terminology. These translations were less effective in the late middle ages because of persecution, Ghettoes, Kabalism, mysticism and priesthood [(2)]. Old conditions changed the Jews. New conditions excluded them from taking any interest in any but purely religious studies. The Jews at the end of the middle ages and beginning of modern times withdrew into their shell, and the science and learning of the outside had little effect on them. These translations were never printed, merely left on shelves in European libraries [(3)].

The major translators were the Tibbonides, Judah (1120-1190), Samuel (1150-1230), and Moses (1240 -1290). They translated everything worthwhile in Jewish philosophy, science and philosophy from Arabic to Hebrew. Judah Ibn Tibbon translated “Tikkum Middot ha-Nefesh” of Ibn Gabirol, Al Amanat Wa al-I’tiqadat of

(2) I.Husik: A History of Medieval Jewish Philosophy. Atheneum, New York, 1960. p.310.

(3) Such as the British Museum, the National Library of Paris, Bodleian of Oxford, and the Royal Library of Munich. The best reference is the monumental work of M. Steinschneider "Die Hebraischen Ubersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher", Berlin, 1893.

Saadia, Khuzari of Halevi, al-Hidaya lla Fara'id Al-Qulub of Bahya with an annex Hebrew philosophical Iexicon. He is also a writer. He is considered the father of translators. His method of translation was two steps: first, the translation of the text word by word, a literal translation; second, review of the first translation in order to understand it and rewrite it as a composition in literary style, as if the translator is the author. Sammuel 1bn Tibbon translated More Nibukim into Hebrew and revised by Maimonides himself, a better translation than the one done by the poet Juda Al-Harizi, with an index of Arabic terms and definition of philosophical technical vocabulary, forged by him. This is considered the first philosophical dictionary in Hebrew. He also translated a part of Maimonides' interpretation of the Mishna and parts of his small treatises. He is also the author of a commentary on the Exodus and Song of Songs, adopting Maimonides' philosophical style. Moses Ibn Tibbon was also a translator, a scientist, a philologist and an interpreter. He is the author of “Al Masir Fi Masalik Al-Fikr,” formulating the structure of the Hebrew verb by analogy to the Arab one. This was translated into Latin and German. He had a great influence on Christian philology for the books of Ezra, Nehamia and Job. He also wrote a treatise on Ethics, "Pleasure of the Soul". The translations done by the Tibbonites from Arabic to Hebrew created a special philosophical style and invented a new technique, anchored in Hebrew Literature even till now. Through these translations Arab-Hebrew culture was transmitted to Europe.

What the Tibbonites left undone was partially completed a half century later by Shem Tob, Falaquera (1225-1290), a critic, commentator and a translator. He translated selections from “Fons

Vitae." The translation of Ibn Gabirol's philosophy into an accessible language, which was not considered desirable by Jews, was actually accomplished by Christians. About a century before Falaquera, in mid-twelfth century, a complete translation was made of Gabirol's work, at the instance of Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo, by Dominicus Gundissalinus, archdeocon of Segovia, with the assistance of Jewish Physician Avendehut (Avendeath) whose name after conversion became Johannes Hispanus of Hispalensis. Also, Abraham Bar Hiyya was associated with Plato of Tivili in the translation of Arabic scientific works. Other translators like Jacob Antoli, Jacob ben Machir and Moses of Narbonne continued translating major Arab-Jewish works. The Qimhi family contributed to the task, Joseph the father and Moses and Daoud the sons. They translated Arabic into Hebrew, Latin and Spanish. It has been said "No corn Qamh, no science," playing on the double meaning of the word, which means corn as well as the proper name of the family of translators. Joseph translated into Hebrew al-Hidaya Ila Fara'id al-Qulub of Ibn Pakuda. He is also the author of a commentary on the Torah, a Hebrew Grammar, by analoggy to Arab Grammar. He had many inter-religious dialogues. Daoud was the greatest philologist and commentator of his time. He wrote al-Jami in philology, by analogy to that of Ibn Janah and Hayyuj. He also composed a Hebrew Dictionary. His Torah commentaries such as al-Tasabih developed a logical style which had a great influence on Christian commentaries.

Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, the great Jewish intellectual and minister, also translated from Latin to Arabic the famous book of "Dis-corides," already translated from Greek into Latin by Nicolaus the

priest. He was helped by the Sicilian philosopher Abu Abdellah. It was a wonderful translation, admired by the Caliph who appointed him a physician in the palace and used him, because of his knowledge of Latin, in receiving the messengers of European kings. He became the Caliph's advisor on trade and his right hand on Andalusian trade and external affairs, till he became a minister.

In addition to these religio-philosophical works, it was necessary to translate those writings which contained the purely scientific and philosophical branches that were prerequisites to the study of religious philosophy. This included logic the various branches of mathematics and astronomy, medical treatises, and some of the books of Aristotle's Corpus, with the Arabic compendia and commentaries. The grammatical and lexical treatise of Hayyuj and Ibn Janah were also translated. These translations had incomparable importance for the development of Western philosophy (4).

III - Biblical Scripts

Biblical Scripts can be seen on four levels: first, the impact of Islamic Exegesis on the development of Jewish Exegesis; second, the importance of the Karaites contribution in the study of the Torah, the criticism of the Talmud and the foundation of a new rational theology based on allegorical interpretation, the Karaites being the extension of Mu'tazilism within Jewish Traditions; third, Biblical criticism founded by the Muslims, especially Ibn Hazm of Cordoba, his scientific study of the Torah, and his inter-religious

(4) F.C Copleston. Medieval Philosophy. Harper & Row. New York, 1961. p.62; De Wulf. Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages. Dover. New York. pp.80-81; E.Gilson: La Philosophie au Moyen-Age, Payot, Paris, 1962 pp 368-76.

dialogues with Ibn al-Narghila and Samuel Jehuda; fourth, the impact of Islamic Law on the formation of Jewish Law.

For the first level, the Jews knew the study of the Scriptures: the Torah, the Mishna and the Talmud under the direction of the Rabbinates. Outside Spain Saadia, the Rabbinate, dealing with the scriptures, was the first translator of the Bible from Hebrew to Arabic. He also wrote a Hebrew grammar. Isaac Israeli, in Kairuan, wrote some commentaries on the two first chapters of Genesis, tackling the concept of creation. Jehuda Ibn Kureish, the famous philologist, commented some passages of the Bible. Rabbi Ya'qub Ibn Nasim and his son Nasim Ibn Ya'qub, commented the Torah and Talmud, following Gaonic Tradition. Hananael ben Hosael combined the Babylonian Talmud with the Palestinian Talmud. Ibn Ya'qud interpreted the Midrash in his commentaries. In Spain, distinct schools of Biblical Interpretation emerged under the influence of similar Islamic schools. The first is the philological school linked to Saadia, concentrating on secret Biblical and Talmudic language. It developed in Spain under the influence of Arabic Language and Qur'anic studies by Ulum Al-Qur'an. Menahem Ibn Saruk, in his Mahabrat showed the common roots of the Arabic and Hebrew Languages, against the refutation of Dabash Ibn Labret. His disciple found the triple root of verbs. Merwan Ibn Jinnah of Cordoba studied Biblical Scripts in "al-Mustalqah" and "al- Talqih," in two parts al-Luma and al-Usul [5]. His method dealt with language as such, not the linguistic "disputatio," compared with Arabic language, favouring literal meanings over figurative ones, and interpreting Divine Attributes.

(5) The Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, Ktave, N.Y. pp.534-35.

Second, the Legal school began in Babel and Kairuan, when Hananael interpred the Talmud and commented on the difficult passages. He and Nisim compared the Babylonian with the Palestinian Talmud. In Spain, the link between the earlier Talmud and that time is done in the name of modernity, under the influence of Islamic innovation (Ijtihad). Isaac Ibn Barach Ibn al-Bilya of Sivilia, in his work “Kofat-Harokhlem,” commented on the difficult law of the Talmud and was appointed as a counselor for the Caliph. Isaac Ibn Ghayath from Alicante wrote on the Halakha and applied the Ijtihad in deducing qualifications. He also wrote “Abwab al Farah”, a commentary of Jewish feasts. He also commented on some of the Biblical Books, like Ecclesiastes. Other lsaacs, like Isaac Ibn Raobin from Barcelona, Isaac Ibn Musa from Iraq, and Isaac Ibn Ya'qub al-Fasi, contributed to the study of Biblical Scripts. Al-Fasi had a vast Islamic Knowledge. He condensed the big Talmud to the small Talmud, linking the Talmud to modern circumstances. His method went beyond imitation of the past, quoting the tradition for the use of independent reasoning, and returning to original Scripts like Ibn Hazm.

Third, the critical school concentrated on the scripts as historical documents, to judge their historical authenticity and improve their contextual interpretation. Ibrahim Ibn Ezra from Toledo used reason in his interpretation of the first and second chapters of Leviticus. He doubled the historical authenticity of some passages in the Torah, falsely attributed to Moses. The same doubt exists about the authenticity of many Biblical books, such as the Book of Jacob. The Bible contains Late additions, even in the Book of Isaac. His method is based on the historical analysis of the

text, following the additions and omissions in the original text. The distinction between the proto-text and the composite late text, the importance of tradition and of the past.

Fourth, the philosophical school was founded by Ibn Pakuda and Maimonides. Ibn Pakuda deduced legal qualifications from the Torah. However, the laws are of two kinds: civil laws and spiritual laws. Both laws are based on Ethics, as with the Mu'tazila. Maimonides wrote “Al-Siraj,” an interpretation of the Mishna. He also studied the narratives and the captivity of Judaism, similar to “Ilm Mustalah Al-Hadith.” He classified Jewish laws into four types: between Creator and creatures, between creature and himself, between Israel and Palestine and the Altar, and between the Jew and his community. Maimonides’ method is legal and logical, jurisdictional and philosophical. Jewish tradition had, already in Jewish law, a discipline similar to Islamic Jurisprudence. However, Maimonides’ classification of all the commandments of the Torah to 613, dividing them into 14 classes, and then to positive and negative commands, is an echo of Islamic Usul al-Fiqh, classification of the Divine Imperatives according to prescriptions and proscriptions, by Amr-Nahy. For the first time since Philo, the figurative meaning comes again. Philo began under the influence of Hellenism, while Maimonides followed under the direct influence of Mu’tazilite rational theology and philosophy. Maimonides’ innovation was to reconstruct Jewish tradition according to reason, transforming traditional sciences, “Ulum Naqliya,” into rational sciences, “Ulum Aqliya.” This appears very clearly in one commentary on the Torah, ending part one of the Guide with the Islamic rational model of the Mutakallimun, and continuing by

exposing the figurative style and allegorical acts in prophetic writings. In the introductory letter to his pupil, Maimonides promises to take him to a course in logic, in order to know the esoteric ideas in the prophetic books and to be a man of culture. Logic deals with methods of interpretation, the allegorical method, which is indeed the logic of revelation, at least partly. Logic leads to esoterism and unveils the hidden meaning of the text. Maimonides wanted only to give applied studies a rational method of interpretation, not a theoretical exposition of the science of logic. That would go too far for the Jewish community to accept. In short, Jewish tradition, after the end of the Babylonian and Palestinian schools went through Kairuan to Andalusia, where the Jews lived in Ghettos within Islamic philosophical schools and in a high rank within the Islamic community. Andalusian Jewish schools contributed to the study of Jewish Scripts, going beyond Gaonim literalism, unconditional narrative and philological lacunae. They were more condensed and more precise in summarizing the Talmud. New sciences emerged, like Hebrew philology and comparative linguistics. Biblical criticism took birth, introducing philosophical and allegorical interpretations.

On the second level, under the influence of Mu'tazilism in the East, Enan Ibn Daub, a companion of Abu Hanifa, and maybe following his advice in his religious revolt, appeared during the rule of al-Mansur and founded the Karaite sect. He revolted against the Rabbinates and their religious authority. The term Karaite means "those who deal only with the Scripture not the Traditions," with the Torah, not with the Talmud. Their principle is "Sola Scriptura," the "Protestant Principle." In both cases, Karaism and

Protestantism, Islamic impacts are visible. Kraites appeared mostly within the Muslim world, in the East and in the West while Rabbinates mostly flourished outside the Muslim World, before Islam and after the fall of Andalusia. The modern dichotomy between liberal and orthodox is a reiteration of the old distinction between Karaites and Rabbinates. It is the same permanent division in the history of Judaism, between Universalism and Particularism. Most of the Karaites are Arabs like Daud Ibn Ibrahim Al-Fasi and Abu Al-Faraj Harun Al-Mqdisi, the author of "al-Mushtamil Ala al-Usul Wa Al-Fuasul" in Hebrew; or they lived in an Islamic influence zone, like Aaron Ben Elijah of Nicomedia, author of "Tree of Life". Those who opposed the Karaites are mostly the conservatives, like Judah Halevi. Judaism was seen as much higher than theology, philosophy or Karaism [(6)].

Karaism is the transposition of Islam into Judaism, a certain kind of Islamic Judaism. It is based on major principles such as Biblical criticism and rejection of the Talmud, "Sola Scriptura," Transcendence of God, and a code of ethics. All of them are Islamic principles. The Karaites reject the authority of the Tradition. They deny the authority of the Talmud. Aaron ben Elijah did not believe in the oral traditional law, because of the additions to and the subtractions from the written Law, which it con-tains. Japheth Ibn Sair tried to control the chains of reporters in Biblical narratives from Moses till Enan, through Shamaria and Rabzela. Joseph Al-Basir and Jeshuah Ben Judah are indebted far more to the Mu'tazila than would appear. The Karaites are Jewish Mu'tazili.

(6) Husik. Op.Cit.pp.XIII-XV & 370-78.

It is impossible to tell from the content of a Karaite or Mu'tazilite work, whether it was written by a Jew or a Muslim. Maimonides observes that in the few works composed by the karaites on the Unity of God, they followed Muslim Mutakallimun. The Karaites had their important men in Halakha, as well as in religious philosophy and Biblical exegesis: Solomon Ben Terroham, Joseph Ha-Moor (al-Kirkisani), author of al-Anwar wa al-Maraqeb, Jefet Ha-Levi, Judassi, Aaron Ben Joseph. The Karaites recognize abrogation, to free Judaism from the past, while Rabbinates like Sadia deny it in order to preserve the legality of Judaism. Abrogation is an Islamic concept, which means the negation of previous stages of revelation and the affirmation of the last one.

The Karaites called for the use of reason for understanding the Scriptures. They are the first who tried to formulate a rational system for Jewish belief. That is why they called themselves Jewish Mutakallimun, people of Unity and Justice, like the Mu'tazilites. The difference between Rabbinates and Karaites is like the difference between Ash'ariya and Mu'tazila, between Scripture and Reason. Rabbinates consider Scriptures as the base of reason, like Ash'ariya, while Karaites consider reason as the base of Scriptures, like Mu'tazila. Joseph Al-Basir and Jeshua Ben Judah discussed the problem of the nature of good and evil, and vindicated their absolute character like the Mu'tazilites. Aaron Ben Elijah wrote three books representing the three divisions in Karaite Judaism: a book of law, a work on Biblical Exegesis, a treatise on religious philosophy, Ez Hayyim, Sefer Ha-Mizvot, Keter Torah. There, major Mu'tazilite doctrines appear, such as compensation for sufferings, the best possible worlds, and prophecy as moral perfection.

On the third level, Ibn Hazm of Cordoba laid the ground for historical criticism of the Bible. Both Jews and Muslims share the same belief-system: Unity and prophecy. In al-Fisal, Ibn Hazm mentions five Jewish Sects: the Samarians, considering Naples as Jerusalem, denying prophecies after Moses and Jushua, denying resurrection and staying in Syria al-Sham, not leaving it; the Sadduceans, The Enanians (Karaites), the Rabbinates and the Jesuits (Isaaywiya), who recognize the prophecy of Mohammed only for the Arabs [(7)]. Afterwards he concentrates on methods of Biblical transmission, Wujuh al-Naql, from the foundation of the state after the death of Moses until its destruction, till their return to Jerusalem, till Ezra the Scribe wrote the Bible, gathering it from their books. Ibn Hazm also looks for their agreements and differences, the authentic texts and the inauthentic, the additions and the omissions, to prove the interpolatation. He goes over every book, taking examples from Genesis, the stories of the creation of Adam, the end of Abraham and the beginning of Isaac, the story of Joseph, the story of Moses, Leviticus, the Numbers, the Psalms and even some parts of the Talmud. He criticizes their denial of abrogation, shows the anachronism in the texts, the contradiction between them, the opposition to reason, to reality, to senses, to geographical sites and to historical events. There are also misinterpretations, leading to anthropomorphism. There are also some imperatives and commands against ethical norms and standards. Ibn Hazm uses Biblical texts as well as rational arguments, as he did in his refutation of Ibn al-Narghila. Sometimes he uses rational arguments alone as he did in

(7) Ibn Hazm. Al-Fisal, Vol.III. Cairo (no date).

his refutation of Samuel Ben Jehuda. Ibn Hazm's conclusions are not very far from the results of modern Biblical criticism, accepted by all Biblical critics.

On the fourth level, the impact of Islamic law on Jewish law is visible, not only through authors like Jushua Ibn Judah in Palestine, but also in the daily practice of Jewish law itself. The Muslim practice of foot-washing before prayer does not exist in the Torah or in the Talmud, but it came to Judaism through oriental Jews, in relation to Muslims, and affirmed by Saadia and Ibrahim in Kifayat al-'Abidin. Likewise, washing of anus and penis does not exist in the Babylonian Talmud, but enters into the Palestinian Talmud through Islamic influence on oriental Jews. The abolition of silent prayer in favour of praying aloud, directed by an Imam, is a custom of reformed Judaism, having an Islamic origin. Many of the Hassides' ritual reforms, like prostration, kneeling, taking the direction of the kibla, lining in prayer, and opening the hands, came from Islamic prayers, through Ibrahim the Hasside and through relations with Muslim mystics, as a continuation of the interiorization to Judaism initiaied by Ibn Gabirol in "Fons Vitae" and by Bahya Ibn Pakuda in "Fara'id al-Qulub". The three Hasside prostration types: Glorification prostration, Thanking prostration and Requesting prostration, are well known in Islamic prayers (8).

IV - Theology

Before the contact between Jews and Muslims in the Eastern or the Middle Eastern parts of the Muslim world, the Jews knew

(8) Nephtali Wilder. Islamic Influence on the Jewish Worship, Oxford, 1947.

mostly the study of the Bible, the Talmud and the Mishna. Philo, in his allegorical interpretation of the Bible, was under the influence of Greek philosophy, an external factor, not an internal one. In the East, before Spain, a new rational theology, a Mu'tazilite type, emerged. Daud Ibn Merwan Al-Mukammas, from Babel, was a Mu'tazilite Muslim rationalist. Joseph Al-Basir was also a follower of the Mu'tazilite doctrine of the identity between Essence and Attributes in God. Saadia, living the conflict between Mu'tazila and Ash'ariya, adopted the Mu'tazilite model. Likewise, Jeshua Ibn Judah in Palestine in the second half of the eleventh century, was a Karaite, a rationalist, a follower of the Mu'tazilite Kalam. He adopted the atomic theory to prove the existence of God. In Spain later on, a similar rational theology emerged in the environment of Islamic Culture. Jewish theologians can be classified as Mutakallimun, and Jewish theology as kalam, based on the Transcendence of God and the complete identity between faith and reason. The problem of Attributes was important to Jews, Christians and Muslims because of some crude anthropomorphism in the Bible and in the Qur'an. Saa'dia made use of the Kalamist concept of substance and accidents to prove the creation of the world. Bahya and Ibn Zaddik used the Kalam. During the earlier period before Emunah Ramah or Abraham Ibn Daud, the Mutakallimun method was employed. Even Maimonides, when he opposed the Mutakallimun, nevertheless was one. He criticized Kalamists physics via another Kalamist physics!

The preference of Mu'tazilism, namely rationalism in Jewish theology, was due to a pure historical accident, the discipleship of the Jews in Spain to the Muslims. Maimonides even thinks that

Mu'tazilism was built according to the model of the Christian Arabs, the Syriacs, who tried to criticize the doctrines of philosophers as being a threat to religion. There was Christian theology, which the Muslims knew before Islamic theology [(9)]. The unity between Revelation and Reason is the unity between Islam or Judaism and philosophy. The unity between Revelation, Reason and Nature is the unity between Islam and Judaism, philosophy and theology. Philosophy is the realm of reason, while theology is the realm of nature.

Bahya gave the priority to faith over Knowledge, to internal illumination over reasoning, similar to Ibn Gabirol. Both came from Saracosta. However, the expression "Duties of the heart", is a Mu’tazilite one, by opposition to the duties of the body. Duties of the heart are for the elite, while duties of the body are for the masses. Bahya wrote his work, “al-Hidaya Ila Farai'd al-Qulub,” to counter-balance ritualism of the masses and formalism of the law. The influence of Islamic mysticism, like that of Al-Muhasibi, is visible. The criticism of kalam outside Spain by Isaac Israeli and within Spain by Joseph Ibn Zaddik, Judah Halevi and Maimonides was done within the methods, the doctrines and the aims of Kalam, like the criticism of Averois. Even Isaac Israeli, in combating Mu'tazilite atomic theory and denying Mu’tazilite doctrine of reward and punishment of animals, is a Mutakallim [(10)].

At the time of Joseph Ibn Zaddik, Mu’tazilism began to dis-appear in favour of Ash’arism. The whole Kalam began to decline in

(9) Husik p.246-47.

(10) Ibid, pp.80-105; G. Vajda: Introduction à la Pensée Juive de Moyen-Age, Vrin, Paris, 1947, pp. 85-94.

favour of Neo-Platonism, Ash’arism being a failure of reason in favour of faith. He criticized Mutazilism as represented by Joseph Al-Basir, and followed Ash'arism in its stand on Divine Attributes and the atomic theory. However, he opposed certain aspects of the Kalamist thought in favour of other aspects. He knew the Kalam from the Karaites, in a time of declining Karaism, in favour of Rabbinism. His own method and doctrine are not far removed from the Kalam. His work, “0lam Katan,” reveals this oscillation between Mu'tazilism and Ash'arism, between Kalam and philosophy (11). The work is divided into physics, God and Man, Unity, Justice, and Psychology. It bares the shape of Kalam and covers the topics treated by the Mutakallimun in the division of their work to Unity and Justice, theory of God and theory of Man, Monadology and Theodicy. This Kalamist shape is also intertwining with philosophical structure: Logic, Physics and Metaphysics, with the exception of Logic. Theodicy as a revindication of God's Justice in his dealing with Mankind includes theological questions of an ethical nature, like freedom of the will, reason for Divine Worship, or the nature of reward and punishment (12).

Judah Halevi used Kalam to criticize philosophy. For him, Mutakallimun, unlike philosophers, were not indifferent to religion. They proved the dogma. They had no interest in speculation as such. Then Halevi criticized the Kalam. He did not sympathize with Mutakallimun, with philosophers, or with Karaites, Muslim's disciples. The Mutakallimun elevate themselves higher than the

(11) Husik, p.125
(12) Ibid, pp.125-49; Vajda, pp.104-109

prophets. They obtain dogma through dialectics, while prophets obtain them through nature. Dialectical method may lead to the negation of dogma, instead of their affirmation, because of doubts and problems evoked. That is why prophets used natural dialectics, not Kalam dialectics. Judaism was seen as an alternative to Kalam. Since both Islam and Christianity use Biblical arguments, they are truly superior to all other religions. Since Judaism is the argument of veracity, for Christianity and Islam. Judaism is superior to other religions and also to Kalam, Philosophy, and Karaism(13). However, Halevi exposes Judaism according to Ash'arite Kalam, infiltrated by some Mu'tazilism like "free will." (14).

Maimonides, like Averois, was a staunch opponent of Mutakallimun because of the weakness of their arguments. The philosophy of Aristotle is more compatible with religion than Kalam. Mutakallimun follow imagination, calling it reason. They have their limits. They use propositions without approving the premises on which these propositions are founded. They prove only propositions which they consider true, and disprove others which they consider untrue. So, once the truth is known in advance, demonstrations follow. Dialectical arguments have their limits. That is why Maimonides prefers returning to the properties of things, to nature, in order to have a criteron of validity beyond opinions. After studying the methods of Mutakallimun, he concludes that for them, the real existence of things proves nothing, since they are different opposite forms, every one is equally true. However, for the first

(13) Husik, p.154.

(14) Husik, pp.150-83; Vajda, pp.110-18 .

time in the history of Judaism, a rational Jewish theology and philosophy began, with clear and constant reference to their Islamic sources, especially to Mu’tazilism. It was not by chance that Maimonides devotes the last six chapters (71-76) of his “Guide for the Perplexed” to Kalam, transliterating the Arabic word for theology, not translating it, in order to preserve its original Islamic source. Kalam is a method of understanding the foundations of belief by reason, to find rational arguments for their validity, and to argue against opposite doctrines. It contains theories resulting from its method, such as the three arguments proving the Unity of God, or other arguments which are not in the Kalam, such as arguments for the incorporeality of God. It is a coherent system, built upon propositions and arguments, doctrines and methods, exempt from internal contradictions. The word Mutakallimun, according to Maimonides, refers to a general trend toward the more abstract, like Kalam. It refers to a dynamic cultural movement in Islamic societies, carrying intellectual pluralism and the art of dialogue between propositions and counter propositions. They had the lead in proving the veracity of doctrines by rational arguments. They were followed by Jewish and Christian thinkers alike. The works of the imitators are insignificant compared to the works of the creators. In spite of the differences in conclusions among the Mutakallimun, they follow the same method. That is why Maimonides does not mention theologians by their proper names. He is only interested in Kalam as discipline, in Mutakallimun as a dynamic rational trend in every religious community, and in the two major trends in every theology—the Rationalists (Mu'tazila) and fideists (Ash'arya), liberals and conservatives, Karaism and

Rabbinism. Maimonides describes the development of Islamic Theology in three steps: first, there was the Kalam, divided into sects; second, Mu'tazila appeared as a separatist movement in Kalam; and third, Ash'ariya appeared as a revisionist movement from within the Mu'tazila. According to Maimonides, only Mu'tazila had their influence on Jewish Scholars, since they are at the origin of Islamic theology and the most rationalist. Ash'ariya had their particular views but were not followed in Judaism [15].

Maimonides' dialectical thought considered reason represented by Mutakallimun, namely, the radicals as a source of the doctrine of "creatio ex nihilo" in the same title and the same virtue as the other source and well-known in tradition, namely prophecy. He presents the choice for his community to take one or the other. Once Maimonides makes room for reason, represented by the Mutakallimun, he argues against them in a second battle, namely, which proof is more rational: the opinion of the Mutakallimun or the properties of things proposed by him? The main contradiction is between reason and tradition, in which Maimonides sides with the Mutakallimun and presents his community with the choice of doing so. The difference in view between Maimonides and the Mutakallimun regarding the type of proof to be used to demonstrate the creation ex nihilo is a secondary contradiction.

Maimonides, artfulness was to expose Judaism to Islamic theology in order to make a cultural shock in his tradition, for the sake of his community, by showing them how to use reason in understanding revelation, in spite of divergencies of view between

(15) Husik, pp.236-311; Vajda, pp.129-46.

theologians inside every community and between theologians of different religious communities. It is therefore difficult to say that Maimonides is with the Mutakallimun or against them. He is with them de Jure, since they use reason to understand, but against them de facto, since they do not use reason properly, the same criticism addressed to them by Averois [16].

Jewish Theology as a belief-system is a combination between Islamic Theology and philosophy, between the diadic division of Islamic Theology (rational belief, Unity and Justice of God) and scriptural or faith beliefs (prophecy and eschatology): and the tripartite division of philosophy (Logic, Physics and Metaphysics). Jewish Theology and philosophy are based on three major beliefs: The Transcendence of God, the creation of the world, and the Immortality of the soul.

In Islamic thought before Spain, Saadia defended the Unity of God. He opposed dualism, Trinitarianisin and paganism (Kurfr), very similar to the refutation of Islamic theologians. He shared the same Mu'tazilite principles: Unity and Justice (Al-Tawhid Wa Al Adl). The Christians erred, conceiving God as Trinity. Jeshua Ibn Jehuda proved the existence of God by the atomic theory. For Joseph Al-Basir, the word of God cannot be eternal, in order not to have two eternals: God and the Word, as in Christianity, which considers Logos eternal and the three persons coeternal. In agreement with the Mu’tazilites, the Qur'an is contingent. God is Omniscient and Omniscience is his Essence, Omnipotent not without power, Omniscient not without Wisdom. Essence is equal to Attributes, Attributes, are identical to Essence.

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(16) Maimonides. Dalalat al-Ha’irin; Sa’adia ben Yousef: Al-Amanat Wa al-I’riqadat.

In Spain, Bahya 1bn Pakuda, like Saadia, had his sources in the Kalam, to prove the Existence and the Unity of God. Power, Wisdom and Life are Attributes of God in the three religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Bahya rejects all forms of anthropomorphism like the Mu'tazila. Joseph Ibn Zaddik also proved, like the Mutakallimun, the Existence and the Incorporeality of God. He rejects the Ash'arite position of believing in the eternity of God's will for fear of having a second eternal beside God, preferring that, whenever God Wills, He creates a Will for the purpose and whenever he rejects anything, He creates a rejection with which the objectionable thing is rejected. If God creates a Will, He can directly create the World instead. Joseph Ibn Zaddik mentions some Mu'tazilite dictums: God is living without life, Powerful without power, Knowing without Knowledge, to prevent multiplicity in the Divine Essence. He takes sometimes a Salafi position by denying all kinds of images. He does not know God, what He is, nor how He is, nor on account of what, nor of what kind, nor when, nor where (Bila Kaif). Finally, Maimonides observes that Unity of God and related topics in Jewish theology come from Kalam, from Mu'tazilism and Asharism and their disciples, the Karaites. He himself offers proofs of the existence, unity and incorporeality of God. He criticizes the errors of the Trinity and all forms of anthropomorphism. The only possible theology is the negative theology, what God is not, not what God is. However, Maimonides uses the famous Ash'arite argument, "Dalil al Mumanaa'a," to prove the unity of God, dividing it into five partial arguments: the argument of mutual neutralization, the impossibility of having two gods for the good management of the

World, transposed on the physical world and based on the properties of things. All these proofs can be accepted or rejected since they are not based on the analyses of the property of the thing. They show the importance of the use of reason, but in the right way. The same argument, proving the incorporeality of God, is weak, not in the same strength as those proving the unity of God. Corporeality, requiring composition of substances and forms, is a naive and ad absurdum argument. Maimonides offers better arguments, such as that corporeality requires the existence of Essence in each atom, the negation of participation of the two opposites in the same quality, that God would be finite. In these new arguments Maimonides appears less critical to the Mutakallimun, in order to give Reason its simple right to think and its credit in human thought.

For all Jewish theologians, the eternity of the world is an absurdity. Bahya uses the Kalam argument of substance and accidents to prove the creation of the world. Joseph Ibn Zaddilk uses the same proof of composed character of the world which Maimonides cites as a Kalamist proof. He also rejects the Ash'arite doctrine of continuous creation adopted by Al-Basir, the Divine will being a momentary entity created from time to time to make possible the coming into being of things and processes. According to Maimonides, the Mutakallimun prove the creation of the world, since creation requires creator. The Jews followed the same double reasoning. If the Ash'arites refused the self-sustaining accidents, since everything is held by God's power, Maimonides also criticized the atomic theory held by the Mu'tazilites. The creation of the world is proved in the Kalam ad absurdum, by proving the

impossibility of the eternity of the world, using seven arguments; and by proving that the creation of one thing proves the creation of the whole, given the hidden analogy between the part and the whole. A reason should exist to explain the combination and separation of the atoms. If accidents are created, so is substance, given the indestructable link between substance and accidents. The determination of things requires a determining cause. Since existence triumphed over non-existence, this triumph is called creatio ex nihilo. Finally, if the world is eternal, the number of dead will be infinite. Maimonides does not refute these seven arguments in Kalam, but shows only their weakness, toward a better use of reason and nature. He is just giving an example of the capacity of natural reason to prove the creation of the world, the second major belief after the existence of God.

Maimonides proves the freedom of the will against pre-destination, like the Mu'tazilites do. In his "Ethics," the third part of the "Guide for the Perplexed," he makes another reference to Islamic theology regarding free will. According to Ash'ariya God creates in the hand holding a pen four accidents. None of them is the cause of the other. The four are only co-existing: will, power, motion of the body, and motion of the Pen. According to the Mu'tazila and a sub-sect of Ash'ariya rejected by their majority, man acts by a power created in him. Ash'ariya theory of causality gives absolute priority to the prime cause and thus falls into absurdities.

Jewish theology is leaning towards the Theory of Unity and Justice (al-Tawhid Wa Al-Adl), namely the rational beliefs (Aqliyyat) condensed in the theory of Essence, Attributes and Acts,

more than on scriptural beliefs (Shar'iyyat), including prophecy, eschatology, faith and action (ethics), and Imamate (politics). Judaism is leaning more towards this World rather on the other world, causing a reaction in Christianity leaning on the other World more than on this world. Eschatology in history of Judaism appeared during the Babylonian captivity, not before, in historical moments of distress. Jews in Spain were living in the Andalusian symbiosis, as an equal community with other communities. However, the Pseudo-Bahya treatise on the soul, "Ma'ani al-Nafs," opens the way to resurrection and future life. It opposes the Mutakallimun as followers of the Naturalists who disagree with philosophers and with the Bible. The error of the naturalists, the Mutazilites among the Muslims and the Karaites among the Jews, is considering the soul not as an independent self-assisting entity but only as an accident of the body. The soul is considered as corporeal quality, dependant for its existence upon the body and disappears with it. The Mu'tazilites, believing in the return of the soul to its origin (Ma'ad), think that at the time of resurrection God will bring the parts of the body together with its accident, the soul, and will reward and punish them. Resurrection is a distinct problem, and has nothing to do with the nature of the soul and its quality. Joseph Ibn Zaddik also opposed this Mutakalimun theory. He also criticized their opinion that animals and little children will be rewarded in the next world. Finally, election, which corresponds to ethical and social belief in Islamic Theology, appears rarely in Spain, unlike European Rabbinic Judaism. Islamic Universalism had its impact on Jewish theology, strengthening the Jewish universalistic trend and minimizing the Jewish particularism.

V - From Theology to philosophy

It is very difficult to make a distinction between Philosophy and Theology in Jewish Thought. Most of Jewish philosophers are theologians and vice versa, with the exception perhaps of Ibn Gabirol, the philosopher. Philosophy itself is a late development of theology. Early Muslim and Jewish thinkers, Al-Kindi and Sa'adia, were more theologians than philosophers. The late ones, Averois and Maimonides were more philosophers than theologians.

Jewish philosophers founded their model in Islamic philosophy. Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd were the teachers of Jewish Aristotelians: Abraham Ibn Daoud, Maimonides and Levi Ben Gerson. Other Jewish thinkers, such as Ibn Gabirol, Bahya, Ibn Zaddik, Judah Halevi, Moses and Abraham ben Ezra, were much indebted to the "Brethren of Purity" Ikhwan Al-Safa'. Nearly every Jewish philosopher has a Muslim philosopher as a model: Isaac Israeli and Al-Kindi; Saadia Gaon Kalam and Ibn Gabirol, with Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina; Judah Halevi and Al-Ghazali; Mamionides and Ibn Rushd. Even the anti-philosophical attitude of Judah Halevi and Hasdai had its model in Al-Ghazalli's refutation of philosophy.

Jews in Spain followed Muslims in the same philosophical Worldview, thanks to the Christian translations of Greek philosophy in Syria, Jews and Muslims knew Greek philosophy through Arabic translations of Greek sources, done by the Christian Arabs. The Christians of Syria introduced Greek philosophy to the Muslims in Syria and later on directly from Greek to Arabic. Muslims of Spain reintroduced Greek philosophy to the Christian world through Hebrew or directly, from Arabic to Latin. Jews in

Spain, as well as Christians in Europe, absorbed new Greek philosophy through the Muslims. The Jews were the pupils of the Arabs and followed their lead in adopting Greek thought to their own intellectual and spiritual needs. Maimonides recognizes the authority of Arab commentators Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd, with Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius. According to him, when Muslims translated Christian theology, they also translated their criticism of philosophy, for example Yehya ben Adiy and John Philipponus. They adopted the opinions of Pre-Socratics, rejected by Aristotle, such as atomic theory and the existence of a vacuum. Therefore, Greek philosophy introduced by the Christians was a point of convergence between Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Before Philo, the Christian fathers and Muslim philosophers, Plato, Plotinus and Aristotle were already three variants in this convergence. The Andalusian Symbiosis is carried out, not only between the three monotheistic religions, but also with Greek philosophy: Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, Pythagore, Galen. If it is true that the converging point of Jewish and Muslim thought is Plato, Plotinus, and Aristotle (an external source), there is also another converging point between Islam and Judaism the internal piety, the personal view of God expressed in the Bible and in the Qur'an, the transformation of metaphysics into ethics (an internal source). The pseudo-Pythagorian source is not an exogenous (external) one, but endogenous (internal), a philosophia perennis represented by human wisdom irrespective of its religious or mundane sources.

Historically, Jewish philosophy stands chronologically between that of their Arab teachers and their Christian disciples. And the line of its development was similar. It was parallel to that

of the Muslims. In the East, Isaac Israeli, David Ben Meruan, Al-Mukammas and Saadia were more Mutakallimun than philosophers. The knowledge of Greek philosophy was still at its beginning. In Spain, Hasdai Ibn Sharput, a cultural and high minded Jew, founded a school for Jewish studies, encouraged the teachers and acquired a full Arab, Hebrew and Latin library, and inherited the two schools of Iraq: Sura and Bambaditha. He was appointed Chief Rabbi of Andalusia by the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III, a liberal patron of learning. The Jews gave him the title of Rosh Kla, Head of the Throne. He protected and encouraged Jewish learning, Talmudic and scientific, such as Moses Ben Enoch the Talmudist, a learned emissary from the Babylonian academy; Menahem Ben Saruk, the Grammarian and Lexicographer, Dunash ben Labrat, the poet. Thereby he inaugurated the long love of Spanish Jewish worthies, which continued almost five centuries, constituting the golden age of Jewish literature and making of Spain the intellectual center of all Jewry. In this favourable milieu appeared Ibn Gabirol. His glory was made in Muslim countries: Egypt, Palestine, and Kairuan. Christian Europe at that time had a low profile in Rabbinism and Karaism. His philosophy, expressed in Mekor Hayim, is a model of the Andalusian symbiosis in philosophy. It could be accepted at that time by a Jew, a Christian or a Muslim. Falaquera discovered that Avicebron is neither a Muslim nor a Christian but a Jew. The Christian Scholastic World saw itself in his philosophy, the Muslims considered him the disciple of Ibn Masarra, the Andalusian mystic, and he is a Jew, celebrated as a writer of religious hymns read in the synagogues. He never quoted a Biblical verse or a Talmudic dictum. He did not write a commentary on the bible. Being a philosopher, he did not

use any scriptural argument, depending only on reason. He did not try to make a deliberate effort to reconcile philosophy with faith, but he shot very high in a purely speculative manner. However, he did not betray Judaism. He is not a dualist but a Monist. God and matter are not opposed as two principles. Matter is identified with God. There are only Law and High Matter. The Neo-Platonism of Ibn Gabirol is not exogenous, but endogenous, coming from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, from religion and philosophy. The Universal Reason of Plotinus in unfolding the Godhead is a distinct hypostas, although not a person. In Christianity, it is the second person in the Trinity, incarnated in Jesus. In Israeli and Gabirol it occupies the same place as Nous in Plotinus (17).

Bahya Ibn Pakuda from Saracosta, the city of Ibn Jannah and Gabirol, a philosopher, a mystic, a logician, a scientist, a mathematician and a Biblical scholar, wrote “al-Hidayat Ila Fara'id al-Qulub.” Many of its passages are practically identical in content and expression with similar ideas founded in the works of Al-Ghazali. The whole book is based on a distinction often made by Muslim theologians between outward ceremony or observance known as visible wisdom, duties of the limbs, and inward intentions, attitudes and feelings, hidden wisdom, and duties of the heart. Bahya is indebted for his ideas to ascetic and mystic literature in the Muslim world. His quotations of the wise men of other nations are also attributed by Muslims to Jesus in the Gospels, to Mohammed and his companions, to the early Caliphs, in particular Ali, to Muslim ascetics and sufis.

(17) Husik, pp.559-79; Vajda, pp75-83.

Afterwards, Bahya reads back the idea in the Bible, in the Book of Isaac, criticizing those who present to God their offerings when their hands are full of blood. The idea belongs to this philosophia perennis formulated within the Andalusian symbiosis, a similar distinction between duties to God and duties to man. Duties to God can be ritualistic, of the limbs, while duties to man are ethical such as trustworthiness, humility, piety, goodness, obedience, repentence, asceticism, patience, the famous table of values, well-defended by Muslim moralists and mystics. Man is the purpose of creation. Obedience to the Law is obedience to virtue. Duties of the heart, controlling one's passions, may be the shortest way to God. The pseudo-Bahya, "Ma'ani al-Nafs," a treatise in Arabic, goes in the same way, Islamic in substance, Jewish in form, with a clear influence of al-Muhasibi [(18)].

Abraham Bar Hiyya, in the first half of the twelfth century, was called the Prince of Savasorda in a transliteration of the Arabic Sahib al-Shurta. He was the first to introduce scientific thought from the Orient and in Muslim Spain into Europe, especially among the Jews in France and Germany, who had devoted all their efforts to Rabbinical literature and to whom Arabic works of their Spanish Brethren were a sealed book. He wrote a number of scientific works in mathematics and astronomy, in Hebrew, at the request of the Jews in France who did not read Arabic. He was the first to write scientific works in Hebrew. All others, with the exception of Abraham Ibn Ezra, wrote in Arabic, including Maimonides. His major philosophical work is Hegyon ha-Nefesh, a certain kind of

(18) Husik, pp.80-105; Vajda, pp.85-94.

meditation of the soul, a religious illumunative philosophy of the Islamic type, but then proved by Biblical quotations (19).

Joseph 1bn Zaddic, the Judge of Cordoba in the twelfth century, is praised as a Talmudic Scholar by Moses Ibn Ezra and as a poet by Abraham Ibn Daud and Harizi. The major philosophical work “Olam Katon,” means microcosm, an Arabic concept “al-‘Alam al-Asghar,” from "the Brethren of purity", Ikhwan al-Safa'. It is very possible that Ibn Zaddic modelled his work on the Encyclopedia of Brethren of purity, leaving out all that he regarded as unessential or objectionable and abridging the rest. Here the kalam decreases in favour of philosophy and Neo-Platonism. He divided his book into physics, psychology, and metaphysics, including Unity and Justice. Psychology is a substitute for Logic. He did not depend on “De Anima” of Aristotle, rather on Islamic sources (20).

Judah Halevi, born in Toledo in the last quarter of the eleventh century, a poet and a philosopher, represents a conservative Jewish reaction to philosophical liberalism in Spain in the time of Muslim rule in Toledo, which had been taken by Alphonse VI, king of Lyon and Castille. Toledo remained Arabic in culture and language for a long time after this, and even exerted a great influence upon civilization in Christendom. The Jews were equally well treated in Toledo by Muslim Emirs and a Christian King. They studied the Talmud in Lucena with Al-Fasi. His anti-Philosophical attitude has much in common with that of AlGazali, the source of his aspiration. Al-Gazali began as a philosopher, lost confidence in

(19) Husik: pp. 114-24: Vajda: pp. 98-103.
(20) Husik, pp.125-41; Vajda, pp.104-109.

the logical method of proof, pointed to the contradictions of philosophers and to their disagreements among themselves, then went over to the Sufis, the pietists and the mystics of Islam. There are a number of resemblances between Al-Gazali and Halevi-skepticism in respect of reason and a deep religious sense are behind both. Halevi's major philosophical problem was that of reason and faith, philosophy and religion, a common problem in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. He criticizes Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, with their combination of Aristotelianism and Neo-Platonism, with a theory of emanation attributed totally to Aristotle. However, Halevi borrowed his psychology from Ibn Sina, inner senses and rational faculties. In his study of man, reason, senses, and imagination are derived from Aristotle, Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. Thus from Judah Halevi until Abraham Ibn Daoud and Maimonides, the impact of Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina upon Jewish reflection on the active intellect is visible.

At the end of his life, Halevi left with his friends to Palestine, the soil of his ancestors. The wind brought him to Alexandria, then to Cairo on the invitation of the Emir and friends. He was received with great honor from Damietta to Tyre and Damascus. Legend has him die at the doors of the holy city, singing an ode to Zion. He had a personal knowledge of God. God revealed Himself to him in the land of Palestine. Palestine is the fittest land for this communion, being conducive to purity of heart and mind. He expressed his conservative position and his national feelings in his famous work "Khuzari." Hasdai Ibn Sharput, the Jewish minister and patron of Learning of Cordoba, in the 10th century, had corresponded with the King of the Khazars and received an account of the

circumstances of the conversion. The King wished to know which was the true religion. He invited representatives of the three dominant creeds, Judaism, Christianity and Islam and questioned them in the tenets of their respective faiths. Since Christians and Muslims, appealed in their arguments to the truth of the Hebrew Bible, Judaism must be the true religion to be adopted. The theory gave Halevi the background of his Khuzari, showing the truth of Judaism and its superiority to other religions, to philosophy, to Kalam and also to Karaism. Halevi wanted to defend the persecuted race and despised faith against philosophers and other religions, so it appears from the long title, "Al-Hujja Wa Al-Dalil Fi Nosrat Al-Din Al-Dhalil." His faith is above all criticism. The King also recognized a second argument, the great Conflicts between Christianity and Islam exclude both, even if they are due to the difference in religious practice, not in purity of heart. The king asked Christians and Muslims, not the Jews, since their low condition is a sufficient proof that the truth cannot be with them. A Christian sage explained to him the essentials of his belief: creation of the world in six days, descent of all men from Adam, revelation as the word of God, Providence as the will of God, as found in the law of Moses and recorded in undoubted Jewish Scriptures, given the publicity, of these recorded events. Jesus said in the gospel: I did not come to destroy any commandments of Israel and of Moses their teacher; I confirm them. But the king was not convinced by the Christian belief. Then a Muslim scholar described to the king the specific tenets of Islam. The Qur'an quotes the Pentateuch, Moses and other leaders and the wonderful things they did. They cannot be denied because they are well known. Seeing that both

Christians and Muslims referred to the law of Moses as true and as evidence that God spoke to man. The king then called a Jewish sage, who told him that Judaism is a rational religion based on natual experience, and he stipulated a peculiar relation between God and Israel, in which other peoples do not share. God is the God only of Israel and Israel is the heart among the nations. The glorious destiny of the Jews in the future can not be like their despised destiny in the present. On the contrary, Christians and Muslims have power and authority in the present and foresee for themselves a similar future. Halevi crowns his preference for Judaism with a philosophy of history in which sciences already begun in the hands of Jews, are then transmitted to Chaldeans, then to Persians, then to Greeks and Romans, and finally to Jews again, who had forgotten their origins as pioneers of human culture and World civilization. Philosophers are Greeks descended from Japheth who did not inherit either wisdom or Torah. Divine wisdom is found only in the family of Shem. The Greeks had philosophy among them only at the beginning of their power. They borrowed it from Persians, who had gotten it from Chaldeans. Neither before, nor after did they have any philosophers among them (21).

Moses Ben Ezra, a poet more than a philosopher, produced in Grenada, an Islamic environment. At the same time, Abraham Ibn Ezra from Toledo was a twelfth century model of Jewish-Muslim enlightenment, expressed in the "Brethren of purity". He wrote a Biblical commentary based on scientific and philological grounds, adopting figurative interpretation. He knew Arabic grammar and

(21) Husik, pp.150-83, Vajda, pp.110-18.

gave himself the assignment of educating his fellow Jews in the non-Arab speaking countries in France, Italy and England. The spirit of enlightenment spread from its center in Spain to its periphery in the rest of Europe,Eastwards and Northwards. Abraham Ibn Daoud from Toledo was the representative of Aristotelianism, as understood by Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. He followed both Muslim philosophers in their distinction between Possible and Necessary existence. The Attributes of God: Unity, Being, Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Eternity, and Truth are combinations of Theological and Philosophical Attributes from Kalam and Philosophy. The doctrine of successive emanations, by al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, and criticized by Halevi, is more complete in Ibn Daoud, who spoke of the triple nature of emanation after the first intelligence: intelligence, then soul and sphere. Ibn Daoud's psychology is grounded in Ibn Sina. The description of inner senses is particularly identified with Ibn Sina's psychology. Ibn Daoud gave several proofs taken from Aristotle and Ibn Sina to show the independence of reason, in the famous theory of different types of intellect. His major philosophical works are Emunah Ramah (the exalted faith) and Sefer Hakabala (book of the Tradition). In the first, he shows that development of the three religious philosophies in the middle ages followed a similar line of progression. In all, of them, it was not so much development from within, the unfolding of what was implicit and potential in the original germ as a stimulus but from without, which then combined, as an integral factor, with the original mass. The final outcome was a result of the two originally disparate elements, Hellenic speculation and Semitic religion, in the shape of sacred and revealed Documents. The

second was complete when the fusion began. Not all the writings of Greek antiquity were known to Jews, Christians and Muslims at the beginning of philosophizing. Their progress in philosophy was parallel to their knowledge of Greek texts of Aristotle and Neo-platonism. Ibn Daoud travelled everywhere in the Muslim World in spite of the Crusades, carrying with him this synopsis of the three cultures, created from the interaction between the exogenous and the endogenous, a permanent lesson in history [(22).]

Maimonides is the Jewish philosopher par excellence, who accomplished for Jewish philosophy historically and structurally what Ibn Rushd did for Islamic philosophy. His family left Cordoba for Fez, then to Acco, Jerusalem, Hebron and finally to Cairo, where he became the physician of Al-Fadil, the minister of Saladin. He was appointed the spiritual head of the Jewish community in Egypt. Maimonides' courage appears in the transformation of Jewish Tradition to cultural sciences, against the prohibition of transforming the oral tradition into a written science. According to Maimonides, these sciences, once begun by the Forefathers, were neglected because of the domination of the Jewish people by "Barbarous" nations. The political situation of the Jews prevented them from dealing with speculative matters. Second, these sciences were only the privilege of the elite, not of the masses, a well known division in Islamic Sciences between khassah and 'Aammah. Written tradition was prohibited by the Rabbis, since oral tradition was sufficient. Maimonides wrote the "Guide" to enlighten his pupil, a gift from the enlightened religious man. This was before Spinoza and modern Jewish enlightenment, Askhala. The perplexed

(22) Husik, pp.236-311, Vajda, pp.109-110.

is one who is still wandering between tradition and reason, between Naql and 'Aql. Here Maimonides, in his desire to show contradictions in the Gamara, is a precursor of Abelard and his application of reason in Patristic Tradition, according to its identity (Sic) and difference (Nunc) with reason, which lead later on to rational textual criticism in Spinoza. His major philosophical works are “Dalalat al-Ha'irin” and a commentary on the “Mishna Pirke Abot.” He also wrote some letters in Arabic to the Jews, in order to preserve their indestructible tie and to sustain it against all disasters they might pass through. In spite of his opposition to kalam, he was a Mutakallim, proving the existence of God, His Attributes, the creation of the world and the immortality of the soul, and finding his sources in Kalam, including the Karaites. He preferred Mu’tazilism, closer to philosophy than to Ash'arism. He also adopted Aristotelianism as understood by Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, which was incompatible with Judaism. Maimonides’ choice for Islamic Theology was pertinent, since philosophy already existed from the Greeks, carried on by Christian dogma. However, Maimonides adopts in philosophy the same method he adopted in theology, the exposition of major philosophical propositions, called method (eight in philosophy and twelve in theology). There are few direct references to Islamic philosophy in the "Guide," since philosophy existed already from the Greeks, in the Christian tradition, and since Islamic philosophers, according to Maimonides, followed the same track. However, Maimonides uses philosophy against theology in support of his own criticism of theology. He refers to Al-Farabi’s distinctions between several meanings of intellect, the dialectical and imaginative, used in theology, and to the demonstrative used by philosophers. Maimonides also adopts

Al-Farabi's commentary on Aristotle, that the active intellect, an incorporeal being, acts one time and does not act another time. He refers to him also as a rational philosopher, criticizing the weak arguments like the seventh, proving the creation of the world from the immortality of the soul, in his book "the changeable beings," also alluded to by Averois. Maimonides depends on Al-Farabi as the commentator on Aristotle. The eternity of the world is undoubted, according to Al-Farabi, as expressed by Aristotle, in spite of Galen's doubts. He also depends on Al-Farabi for his commentary on the Physics of Aristotle, adding a distinction between stars and spheres. The stars are opaque, while the spheres are transparent, because of the difference between them in substance and form. According to Al-Farabi, it is a minor difference, but Maimonides sees it a big one. Maimonides refers also to Abu Bakr Ibn Al-Saigh (Ibn Badja) in his doctrine of the soul, the seventh argument proving the creation of the world. But his major dependence on the Muslim philosopher is on astronomy and physics. A whole band of Andalusian scientists were around him studying the same scientific problems, such as the position of Venus and Mercury vis à vis the sun. Maimonides depends on Abu Bakr in his rejection of the epicycles, quoting and summarizing his criticism. He depends on him also as a reader of Aristotle's theory of the excentricity of the sun, expressing some doubts about it, and as a commentator of the physics.

Islamic philosophy divided the wisdom into three parts: Logic, Physics and Metaphysics. The "Guide" also contains three parts: Theology, Philosophy and Ethics. Only the second part refers directly to philosophy. Neither the first part nor the third refers

directly to theology or to ethics. Theology comes in relation to Kalam and ethics are deduced directly from the Scriptures. Since both theology and philosophy are dealing with the same topic, namely God and the world, then the first part of the "Guide" is indeed on metaphysics, while the second is on physics. In the first part, the Attributes of God are exposed, and in the second part, the "creatio ex nihilo" is defended against the eternity of the world, along with the theory of prophecy. The third part on ethics is indeed the theory of Acts, since it deals with creation of good and evil and precepts of law. However, Jewish scholars of Andalusia adopted more the views of philosophers than Kalam methods, since philosophers' views are more adequate to Jewish doctrines. The purpose of Kalam was to defeat philosophy while the purpose of Maimonides was to defend philosophy against Kalam as Muslim philosophers did. Maimonides also would crown his theoretical system with a philosophy of history like Halevi, in which the Jews appear as the pioneers of science. In ancient times, Jews cultivated sciences, which were gradually forgotten on account of foreign domination. Muslims themselves are indebted to Christian Arabs like Yehya ben Adiy, as well as to Syrians and to Greeks. They knew Christian theological critiques of philosophy before they made their own critique. In short, Maimonides is the greatest Jewish philosopher, "Between Moses and Moses none appeared like Moses". He lived in an Islamic milieu. He is considered as a Muslim, philosophically and practically taking into consideration some narratives about his adoption of Islam. He is considered by Mustapha Abd al-Razek as a Muslim philosopher, irrespective of his faith [(23)].

(23) Husik, pp.236-311; Vajda, pp.129-46.

After Maimonides, Jewish philosophy in Spain begins to die out and falls into Averois' exegesis. Maimonides was limited to Aristotalian exposition of Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. He did not read the work of Averois, his contemporary, until towards the end of his life. After his death, Averois gained in prestige and influence until he suceeded in putting his predecessors into the shade, and was regarded by Jews and Christians alike as the commentator of Aristotle par excellence. His work was rapidly translated into Hebrew and Latin. The Jewish thinkers learned their Aristotle from Averois. The knowledge of the Arabic language was gradually disappearing among the Jews of Europe, and they were indebted for their knowledge of science and philosophy to translations of these works. Philosophy was declining among Muslims themselves, owing to the disfavor of the powers that be, and many of the scientific works of the Muslims owe their survival to the Hebrew translations or transcription into Hebrew characters, which escaped the prescriptions of Muslim authorities and preserved the survival of Hebrew letters [(24)].

The radiance of the Andalusian symbiosis extended beyond Spain into its periphery of Christian Northern Spain, Southern France and Italy. Hillel Ben Samuel, in the thirteenth century, lived in Italy and commented on Maimonides and Averois. Knowing Latin, he was able at the same time to read Scholastic philosophy. In his work Tagmule hal Nefesh discussed the rewards of the soul. He detailed the different kinds of the Intellect from Alexandre Aphrodisias and Themestius, until al-Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd. He called the Scholastics "wise men of the Nation." Levi

(24) Husik, pp.146-5.

ben Gerson (Isaac Albalag)lived in France during the second half of the thirteenth century, an Averoist in the university of Paris. He knew Aristotle through Averois on the theory of Intellect and its types. He also commented on the Pentateuch and wrote “Mihamot Adonai.” Araon Ben Elijah of Nicomedia, who also lived in Cairo and Istanbul, shared the Karaites views. He subordinated his Jewish philosophy to a philosophy of history, initiated by Halevi and continued by Maimonides. Adam was the first who proved the existence of God with his intellect. Then came the law of Moses, which strengthened the same idea. The Gentiles hailed and envied Israel for their superiority and their true opinions. Hence, they endeavored to refute Israel’s ideas and establish others in their stead. This was the work of ancient Greek philosophers, enemies of the Bible. At the time of the second Temple, seeing that the Jewish religion and its teachings were true, they took advantage of the advent of Jesus to adopt his false teachings, sharing their hatred and envy of Israel. However, they were obliged to borrow some views and methods of proofs from Israel for religion, as such is opposed to philosophy. Still,the true nature of God was unknown to them. Then came the Muslims, who imitated the Christians in adopting a belief different from Judaism, at the same time borrowing views from the Bible. These are Mu'tazila and Ash’ariya. Later, when on account of exile, differences arose among the Jews, there were formed two parties of the Karaites and Rabbinites. The first followed Mu’tazila and some of the second, because their views conformed with the Bible, from which they borrowed. Philosophers were rejected because, with the exception of the Rabbinites, they paradoxically opposed the Bible, though believing in the Bible [(25)].

(25) Husik, pp.312-27; Vajda, pp.153-57.

Hasdai ben Abraham Crescas lived in Barcelona at the time of Reconquesta, in the first half of the fourteenth century, presenting a certain kind of conservative Judaism, similar to Al-Gazali and Halevi's type, independent of Aristotle, and based on spiritual feelings. In his major philosophical work, “Or Adonai” (light of the lord), the distinction of Al-Farabi and Ibn Sina between contingent and Necessary Being is still maintained. He also tried to formulate Jewish articles of faith, as did late Muslim theologians. He was a prototype of Spinoza in his concept of human freedom. The last one was Joseph Alpo, a disciple of Creascas, in Aragon, northern Spain. In his book, “Sefer Ikkarim,” (Book of Roots), he defends Judaism against Christianity without direct refrences to Islam, which was previously the guarantee of the Andalusian Symbiosis (26) .

By the end of Muslim Rule in Spain, the Andalusian Symbiosis had disappeared. Rationalism came to an end and mysticism began, initiating the European renaissance. The Muslims and Jews who had created the symbiosis were expelled from Spain. However, some Jewish philosophers in the fourteenth and fifteenth century survived on the Andalusian heritage such as Don Isaac Abarbanel, who commented on The "Guide," and his son Judah Leo Abarbanel who wrote “Dialoghi di Amori,” (Dialogues of Love). Judah Ben Yechiel Messer Leon of Mantua, was a disciple of Cicero, scholastic philosophy and Averois. Oppression and gloom caused the Jews to “retire within their shells.” They sought consolation within, for the freedom denied them without, by concentrating their interests, ideas and hopes upon the Rabbinic writings, legal as well

(26) Husik: 388-405; Vajda: pp. 169-82.

as mystical. This continued, expressing the spirit the time, giving internal piety an absolute priority over dogmatism and ritualism. Islamic enlightenment in the East was prior to Islamic enlightenment in the West, which was behind the Andalusian symbiosis. Islamic enlightenment in Spain was prior to scholastic enlightenment in the late middle ages. Thus, Enlightenment goes from the East to the West and may return again from the West to the East, in the spirit of the Andalusian symbiosis (27).

VI- Conclusion

The identity between revelation, reason and nature is an Islamic model built especially by Mu'tazilite theology and philosophy, and carried on in Medievel Christian and Jewish cultures in contact with Islamic culture, whether directly through Arabic texts, as in the case of Maimonides, or indirectly through Latin translations. This model is also carried on, although in a different manner, by the other two Islamic sciences: Methodology of Jurisprudence (Usul al-Fiqh) through the deductive-inductive method, and mysticism through pantheism and metaphysics of unity.

The Jewish model before this cultural interaction, first in Spain, second in Sicily and southern Italy, third in Bezantine. was that theology, philosophy, law and even mysticism are essentially religious, based on revelation and depending on Scriptural arguments. The absolute will of God was generally accepted. The law, such as Sabbath, dietary laws, festivals, was practiced as Divine Imperative and dictum of the Tradition. Mysticism was a

(27) Husik, pp.406-27; Vajda, pp.183-93.

purely spiritual exercise of visions intertwined with magic and superstition. The argument of authority, not the argument of reason, was the only valid argument.

The Christian model was similar to the Jewish one. The creed is a mystery which goes beyond reason. Belief is an act of will, not an act of reason. Canonic law is promulgated by the authority of the Church. Even the canonization of the tradition, the performance of sacraments and the adhesion to religious community, are made by the Church. Thus the God of the philosophers is not the God of the Fathers, Abraham, Jacob, and Isaac. The heart has its own reasons which reason ignores. Scriptures were accepted without external or internal criticism. The Scriptural argument, not that of reason, was also the only valid argument. Paulinian theology and its major doctrines: Incarnation, Trinity, Redemption, Salvation, Fall, Original Sin… etc, are unchallenged, even by new interpretations considered as heresies.

The relation between the three traditions is clear in the "Guide". According to Maimonides, the “creatio ex nihilo” interests the three religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, in order to support their beliefs in miracles and in other doctrines. However, every religion was also interested in defending its own specific doctrine, such as Election in Judaism, Trinity in Christianity and the "Word" in Islam. Maimonides does not want to criticize the beliefs of every religion, but he wants to show that their propositions are not based on the investigations of real properties of things.

Reference to Christianity in Jewish and Muslim writings is minimal and in relation to the transmission of Greek philosophy through the Syrian scholars to the Muslims, or to the foundation of Christian dogma. Both Christians and Jews lived within Islamic culture as a general intellectual framework. The reference to the umbrella and the common cultural heritage, namely Islamic culture, was natural. In Andalusia, both Christianity and Judaism refer to Islamic culture more than they refer to each other.

It is only in Spain that the new model from Andalusian emerges. Essentially, this model was constructed in Toledo, Grenada, Seville, Aliacante and Cordoba. The three Abrahamic traditions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, lived together in an atmosphere of Islamic Tolerance. It is in Andalusia that comparative history of religions began.

The expression “Andalusian scholars” is always repeated by Maimonides to indicate a cultural region with a possible model in physics, medicine, mathematics, linguistics, theology, philosophy or mysticism which can be adopted by the Jewish community, since the model does not contradict the principles of the Jewish faith. The openness of the Jewish faith to cultural interaction strengthens it and enables it to transcend the practical creed to reach universal principles of reason.

The Islamic model is not only related to theology, physics, metaphysics, astronomy, and mathematics, but is also related to ethics and politics. Maimonides deals with ethics only in the third part of the “Guide”. However, the Islamic model appears through direct

references to Islamic Philosophy and Theology. He refers to the theory of the attainment of human perfection through the intellect, unifying itself with the intellectual agent as an example of human perfection, raising one's soul from virtue will bring Divine protection.

Mankind can be unified through Universalism, not ethnocentrism, sectarianism, parochialism, and chauvinism. Universalism, defended by the prophets since Noah, Abraham and Moses, reiterated by Christ in the name of the new covenant and realized by Islam, in the Andalusian model of Spain, is a permanent virtue in a Palestinian model in which Jews, Christians and Muslims can live again and under its protection. The freedom of man, agreed upon in the Andalusian model by the three Abrahamic religions, can continue in the Palestinian model as the freedom of all. The convergence of the three traditions in the Andalusian model can be a real alternative, based in history, to the contemporary divergencies and exclusiveness.

The Andalusian model is not a utopia, since it existed in the past. The challenge is how to be authentically Jewish, Christian, or Muslim, while evolving the respective traditions away from cultural alienation, away from ideas of ethnic nations surrounded by geographical boundaries and making war with each other. In the Andalusian model. the freedom of man is linked to the Universalism of his intellect, which corresponds to the life in the desert under the starry sky looking for water and grass, settling in tents, and wandering everywhere. That was the life of the Semitic Nomads, Arabs and Hebrews, intermarrying clans and allying tribes. The Andalusian model is an expression of the Semitic Nomadic life in which the Nation-state is completely alien.

ISLAM AND JUDAISM

A Model From Andalusia(*)

Commentary on Part I, chapters LXXI LXXVI on Kalam in Maimonides: Guide of the Perplexed

I- Introduction

The identity between revelation, reason, and nature is an Islamic model built especially by Mu'tazilite Theology and Philosophy and carried on in Medieval Christian and Jewish cultures contact with Islamic culture, whether directly through Arabic texts (like the case of Maimonides), or indirectly through Latin translations (Beranger de Tours, Anselm de Bestate in the eleventh century, Abelard in the twelve century) before generating the reaction of Thomas Acquinas in the thirteen century, but again carried on by Latin Averroists till the European Renaissance in modern times). This model is also carried on, although in a different manner, by the other two Islamic sciences, methodology of Jurisprudence (Usul Al-Fiqh) through the deductive-inductive method, and mysticism through pantheism and metaphysics of unity, the last phase in the mystical road.

The Jewish model before this cultural interaction, first in Spain, second in Sicily and southern Italy, third in the Byzantine Empire, was that theology, philosophy, law and even mysticism are essentially religious sciences based on revelation and depending on scriptural arguments. The absolute will of God has no rational justification. The literal meaning of the text is absolutely true. Doctrines such as election, covenant, and promised land were not questionable. Anthropomorphic interpretation of texts regarding

(*) International Symposium, 11-12 December 1985, UNESCO, Paris.

God was generally accepted. The law was practiced as Divine Imperatives and dictum of the tradition, via Sabbath, dietary practices and festivals. Mysticism was purely spiritual exercises and visions intertwined with magic and superstition. The argument of authority, not the argument of reason, was the only valid argument.

The Christian model was similar to the Jewish one. The credo is a mystery which goes beyond reason. Belief is an act of will, not an act of reason. Canonic law is promulgated by the authority of the Church. Even the canonization of the tradition, the performance of sacraments and the adhesion to religious community are made by the Church. The God of the philosophers is not the God of the fathers, Abraham, Jacob and Isaac. The heart has its own reasons, which reason ignores. Scriptures were accepted without external or internal criticism. The scriptural argument, not that of reason, was also the only valid argument. Paulinian theology and its major doctrines Incarnation, trinity, redemption, salvation, fall, original sin are unchallenged even by new interpretations considered as heresies.

The relation between the three traditions are clear in the "Guide." According to Maimonides, the creatio ex nihilo interests the three religious, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, in order to support their beliefs in miracles and in other doctrines. However, every religion was also interested to defend its own specific doctrine, such as Trinity in Christianity and "the Word" in Islam. Maimonides does not want to criticize the beliefs of every religion, but he wants only to show that their propositions are not based on the investigations of the real properties of things [(1)].

(1) Maimonides. Guide for the Perplexed. p. 109; Translated from the original Arabic by M. Friediander, Dove publications, 1956 (It will be referred to as GP).

Reference to Christianity is very minimal and in relation to whether the transmission of Greek philosophy through the Syrian Scholars to the Muslims, or to the foundation of Christian Dogma [(1)]. Both Christians and Jews lived within Islamic culture as a general intellectual framework. The reference to the overall umbrella and the common cultural heritage, namely Islamic culture, was natural. Both Christianity and Judaism in Andalusia refer to Islamic culture more than they refer to each other.

Maimonides' use of the term "Mohammedan" is not Islamic, but comes from similar epithets of the time, such as Saracens and Maurs, following the ongoing epithetslanders of the times against Muslim rule in Spain by the Christians in the North. There are Mohammedan Mutakallimim, works, Mu'tazilah and Ash'ariyah translations of Greek philosophers, adoption of peculiar theological theories, together with Jews and Christians, adopting the doctrine of creatio ex nihilo, defending the doctrine of the word as Christians, defending Trinity, not analyzing, as well as Christians, the real properties of things, while Maimonides will [(2)].

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(1) "At the time when the Christian Church brought the Greeks and Syrians into its fold and promulgated its wellknown dogma, the opinions of the philosophers were current among the nations and while philosophy flourished. Kings became defenders of the Christian faith. The learned Greek and Syrian Christians of the age, seeing that their dogmas were unquestionably exposed to severe attacks from the existing philosophical systems, laid the foundation for this science of dogmatics. They commenced by putting forth such propositions as would support their doctrines and be useful for the reputation of opinions opposed to the fundamental principles of the Christian religion" GP, p. 109.

(2) The word "Mohammedanism" is used 10 times in these senses, GP, p. 109, "they followed the lead of the Mohammedan Mutakallimim and what they wrote is insignificant in comparison with the kindred works of the Mohammedans p. 108 ; It also happened that at that time when the Mohammedans adopted this method of the Kalam ... p. 108. Although another sect the Asha'ariyah with their own particular views, was subsequently established among the Mohammedans p. 108. "You should also know that whatever the Mohammedans, that is the Mu'tazilah and the Asha'ayria..." p. 108. "When Mohammedans caused Arabic translations of the writings of the Philosophers, to be made ..." p. 109; "... When the Mohammedans

In Spite of Maimonides' historical and cultural initiative to transform traditional sciences to rational sciences, he was still limited by his parochialism, describing the Muslims as Mohamnedans, the nations in Which the Jews lived as barbarous, and other nations as Geonim including the Karaites, the closest sect to Islamic tradition (1).

Maimonides did not change the Arabic names as examples such as Zaid and 'Amr, as did the translators of Averrois' commentaries on Aristotle, by changing the Arabic names and examples to Hebrew names and examples (2). Alexandria, Al-Fustat, Cairo, Cordoba, Seville, Saladin are geo-historical terms determining the cultural Islamic atmosphere Maimonides lived in. The high reverence for Arabic Writings and sources made Arabic important in both communities, Jewish and Christian. It is a language of culture, even if it is written in Hebrew sacred characters as in Dalalat Al-Ha'irin.

A commentary is an old "genre literaire" practiced in classical traditions. In Islamic philosophy, it does not mean textual explanation, term by term, phrase by phrase. It does not mean also tautological paraphrasing and repetition of the same meanings in

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adapted certain peculiar theological theories, they were naturally obliged to defend them" p. 1091. Their arguments undoubtedly involved certain principles, which conceived the three communities: Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, such as the creatio ex nihilo..." p. 109. "There are, however, other subjects of belief which the Christians and Mohammedans have undertaken to defend. Such as the doctrine of the Trinity in the theological works of the former, "the word" in the works of some Mohammedan sects" p. 109. "We nearly maintain that the earlier theologians, both the Greek Christians and of the Mohammedans, when they laid down their propositions, did not investigate the real properties of things," p. 109 (I am not completely sure if Maimonides used the term or the translator, as an old term used by 19th century orientalism, since the translation from Arabic is published in 1904).

(1) In addition you will find that in the few works composed by the Geonim and the Karaites..." p. 108.

(2) GP, p. 113.

other words, but a more complex cultural phenomenon implying: openness to other cultures and the translation of their major works, the assimilation of other cultures to reintegrate them in the local culture in order not to fall into cultural dualism between the exogenous and the endogenous, and to create a unified human culture, total and integral, a result of cultural interaction and mutual exchange, according to the dialectics between language. meaning and things. A commentary is a reading. A reading is an interpretation and a transposition [1]. As Maimonides read the Mutakallimim, I am reading Maimonides back through the same Mutakallimim, having in mind the old Andalusian model and the contemporary Palestinian counter-model, with the socio-cultural cohabitation and the geo-doctrinal exhabitation.

II- A model from Andalusia

It is only in Spain, that a new model from Andalusia came out. This model was essentially built in Toledo, Grenada and Cordoba. The three Abrahamic traditions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, lived together in an atmosphere of Islamic Tolerance. It is in Andalusia that comparative history of religions began.

The expression "Andalusian scholars" is always repeated by Maimonides to indicate a cultural region with a possible model in physics, medicine, mathematics, linguistics, theology or philosophy which can be adopted by the Jewish community, since the model does not contradict the principles of Jewish faith. The openness of Jewish faith to cultural interaction strengthens it and makes it departing from the practical creed to reach the universal principles of reason [2].

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(1) This theme will be referred to in the conclusion only as a possible revival of the Andalusian model.

(2) "Some of the Andalusian authors say that his breath was suspended, so that no breathing could be= =preceived at all", GP, p. 57. "On the other hand, Andalusian

Maimonides' courage appears in the transformation of Jewish tradition to cultural sciences, against the prohibition of transforming the oral tradition to a written science. According to Maimonides, these sciences, once begun by the forefathers, were neglected because of the domination of the Jewish people by "barbarous" nations. The political situations of the Jews prevented them from dealing with speculative matters. Second, these sciences were only the privilege of the elite, not of the masses, a well known distinction in Islamic sciences between the Khassah and the 'Aammah. Written tradition was prohibited by the Rabbis, since oral tradition was sufficient (1). Maimonides wrote the Guide to enlighten his pupil and to form the enlightened religious man, before Spinoza and modern Jewish enlightenment, Askhalah. The perplexed is that one who is still wondering between tradition and reason, between Naql and 'Aql. Here Maimonides, in his desire to show contradictions in the Gemara, is a precursor of Abelard and his application of Reason in Patristic tradition according to its identity (Sic) and difference (Nunc) with reason, which lead later to rational textual criticism in Spinoza (2).

Maimonides' choice for Islamic theology was pertinent since philosophy existed already via the Greeks and was carried on by Christian dogma. However, Maimonides adopts in philosophy the same method he adopted in theology, the expositions of major philosophical propositions called methods (eight in philosophy and twelve in theology) (3).

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scholars followed the teachings of the philosophers, from whom they accepted those opinions which were not opposed to our own religious principles", GP, p. 108.

(1) Part III begins with Maimonides' apology for publishing, contrary to the teaching of the Mishnah, an interpretation of Ezek, I, GP p. 251-252; Also, Part I, p. 108, "The natural effect of this practice was that our nation lost the knowledge of those important disciplines" GP, p. 108.

(2) GP, p. 11.

(3) "I will however, point out the methods which they employ in the same manner as I have done when I discussed the theories of the Mutakallimim", GP, p. 174.

Jewish tradition had already in Jewish law a discipline similar to Islamic Jurisprudence. However, Maimonides' classification of all the Commandments in the Torah into 613, dividing them into fourteen classes and then to positive and negative Commands, is an echo of Islamic Usal Al-Fiqh classifications of the Divine Imperatives to Prescriptions and Proscriptions (Amr-Nahy) (1). Jewish mysticism as explained in the Zohar was similar also to Islamic mysticism as formulated by Ibn Arabi in Andalusia. The only discipline Jewish tradition left out was that of theology, namely the work of reason and nature in revelation.

Maimonides leaves aside jurisprudence and mysticism, well dominant in Jewish tradition. He concentrates only on rational theology and philosophy, to be incorporated in Jewish tradition. For the first time since Philo, the figurative meaning comes ahead again. Philo began under the influence of Hellenism and Maimonides followed, under the direct influence of Islamic Mu'tazilite rational theology, or the indirect Islamic philosophy. His initiative was to reconstruct Jewish tradition according to reason, transforming traditional sciences ('Ulum Naqliya) to rational sciences ('Ulum Aqliyya). This appears very clearly in the commentary on the Torah before ending Part 1 with the Islamic rational model of the Matakellemim and the continuation of exposing figurative style and allegorical acts in prophetic writings. Maimonides' distinction between partial simile and total simile is a step towards a total allegorical interpretation of the scriptures (2).

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(1) Maimonides end the Guide by dividing the Precepts into fourteen classes, GP, pp 329/380.

(2) Figurative expressions applied to Angels. GP, p. 65-67; On the allegories of the prophets, p. 238-240; Allegorical acts of Prophets receive Divine Messages, p. 240-241. On figurative style of the prophetic writings, p. 247-249; "Know that the figures employed by the prophets are two kinds: First, where every word which occurs in the simile represents a certain idea, and secondly, where the simile, as a whole, represents a general idea, but has a great many points which have no reference whatever to that idea. They are simply required to give to the simile its

Reference to Islamic philosophy is very little, since philosophy existed already by the Greeks, in Christian tradition and since Islamic philosopher, according to Maimonides, followed the same track [(1)]. However, Maimonides uses philosophy against theology in support of his own criticism of theology. He refers to AlFarabi's distinctions between several meanings of intellect, the dialectical and imaginative used by theologians and the demonstrative used by philosophers [(2)]. Maimonides also adopts Al-Farabi's commentary on Aristotle, that the Active Intellect, an incorporeal being, acts in one time and does not act at another time. He refers to him also as a rational philosopher criticizing the weak arguments, like the seventh proving the creation of the world from the immortality of the soul, in his book "The Changeable Being", also alluded to by Averrois [(3)].

Maimonides depends on Al-Farabi as commentator of Aristotle. The eternity of the world is undoubted, according to Al-Farabi, and has been expressed by Aristotle, in spite of Galen's doubts [(4)].

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proper form and order, or better to conceal the idea; the simile is therefore continued as far as necessary according to its literal sense. GP, p.7.

(1) "When the opinions of John the Grammarian, of Ibn Adi and of kindred authors on those subjects were made accessible to them, they adopted them, and imagined that they have arrived at the solution of important problems". GP, p. 109.

(2) "...as Abu Nasr says in speaking of that which the Mutakailimitn call intellect". GP p. 128. According to Aristotle and his school, the Active Intellect, an incorporeal being, acts at one time and does not act at another, as has been shown by Abunasr in his treatise on the Intellect. He says there quite correctly as follows: It is an evident fact that the Active Intellect does not act continually, but only at times". GP, p. 181.

(3) "Abunazer Al-Farabi in criticizing this proposition, has exposed all its weak points, as you will clearly perceive when you study his book on the changeable beings earnestly, and dispassionately", GP,
p. 139.

(4) The interpretation which Abu Nasr offers of this parallel is well known. He denies that Aristotle had any doubt about the eternity of the Universe and is very severe upon Galen, who maintains that this theory is still doubtful, and that no proof has

He also depends on Al-Farabi on his commentary on the Physics of Aristotle, adding a distinction between stars and spheres. The stars are opaque while the spheres are transparent, because of the difference between them in substance and forms. According to Al-Farabi, it is a small difference, but Maimonides sees it as a big one (1).

Maimonides refers also to Abu Bakr Ibn Al-Saigh (Ibn Baja) in his doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the seventh argument proving the creation of the world (2). But his major dependence on the Muslim philosopher is on astronomy and physics. A whole band of Andalusian scientists were around him studying the same scientific problems such as the position of Venus and Mercury, vis à vis the sun (3). Maimonides depends on Abu Bakr in his rejection of the epicycles, quoting and summarizing his criticism(4). He

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been offered. According to Abu Nasr, it is clear and demonstrable by proof that the heavens are eternal, but all that is enclosed within heavens is transient", GP. p. 177.

(1) "Abu Nasr has already mentioned the fact in his additions to the Physics of Aristotle. He says there is a difference between the stars and the spheres; for the spheres are transparent, The stars are opaque, and the cause of this is that there is a. difference, however small it may be, between their substances and forms". So far Abu Nasr. But 1 do not say that there is a small difference, but a very great differ- ence." GP, p. 187.

(2) "But that which remains of Zaid (after his death) is niether the cause nor the effect of that which is left of Amr, and therefore the souls of all the departed from only one being as has been explaind by Abu Bakr Ibn Al-Zaig and others who ventured to speak on these profound subjects", GP p. 138.

(3) "More recently, some Andalusian scholars concluded from certain principles laid down by Ptolemy, that venus and Mercury were above the sun. Ibn Aflah of Seville, with whose son I was acquainted, has written a famous book on the subject, also the excellent philosopher Abu Bakr Ibn AlZaig, one of whose pupils was my fellowstudent, has treated of this subject and offered certain proofs which we have copied, of the improbability of Venus and Mercury being above the sun. The proofs given by Abu Bakr show only the improbability, not the impossiblity", GP, p. 164.

(4) For that reason Abu Bakr Ibn Alzaig, in an astronomical treatise which he wrote, rejects the existence of epicycles. Besides this impossibility, he mentions others, showing that the theory of epicycles implies other absurd notions. I will here explain them..." GP, p. 196.

depends on him also as a reader of Aristotle's theory of the eccentricity of the sun, while expressing some doubts about it, and as a commentator of the Physics [(1)].

Islamic Philosophy divided the Wisdom into three parts: Logic, Physics and Metaphysics. The Guide for the perplexed contains also three parts: The first on theology, the second on philosophy and the third on ethics. Only the second part is referring directly to philosophy [(2)]. Neither the first part nor the second refer directly to theology or to ethics. Theology comes in relation to Islamic Kalam, and ethics are deduced directly from the scriptures. Since both theology and philosophy are dealing with the same topic, namely God and the world, the first part of the Guide is indeed on metaphysics, while the second is on physics. In the first part, the Attributes of God are exposed and in the second part the creatio ex nihilo is defended against the eternity of the world, plus the theory of prophecy. The third part on ethics is indeed the theory of Acts, since it deals with the creation of Good and Evil and the Precepts of the Law.

A question remains, What about Logic? It is true that in the triadic division of wisdom into logic, physics and metaphysics, logic is only an instrument to all sciences, discovering laws of Thought to protect reason from errors in thinking. However, logic is incorporated in classical wisdom as prolegomena to physics and metaphysics. Maimonides, initiative did not go to that extent. It was enough for him to expose rational theology and to create rational

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(1) "You know that Abu Bakr Al-Zaig in his treatise on physics, expresses a doubt whether Aristotle knew the excentricity of the sun but ignored it, and only discussed the effect of the inclination because he saw that the effect of excentricity was identical with that of the inclination or whether he did not perceive it". GP, p. 199; "Abu Bakr Al-Zaig mentions this in his commentary on the book of physics", GP, p. 316.

(2) The twenty-six propositions employed by the Philosophers to prove the existence of God, GP, p. 145.

philosophy from within the tradition, through metaphoric interpretations of the texts in Philo tradition, without substituting logic for tradition. This radical rationalism, switching from argument of authority to argument of reason, has to wait till the coming of Spinoza. However, Maimonides refers to logic in his introductory letter to his pupil. He promises to take him to a course in logic in order to know the esoteric ideas in the prophetic books, and in order to become a man of culture [(1)]. Logic, according to Maimonides, is the methods of interpretation, the allegorical method which is indeed the logic of revelation, at least partly. Logic leads to esoterism and unveils the hidden meaning of the text. Maimonides wanted to give only applied studies of rational method of interpretation, not a theoretical exposition of the science of logic. That would be too far for the Jewish community to accept. Logic can also be exposed within natural philosophy, not alone, indirectly, not directly in order to be accepted in a community still believing in the argument of authority (The law), not the argument of reason (logic) [(2)]. The Islamic model of the triadic division of wisdom to logic, physics and metaphysics was in the background of Maimonides thought, serving as motivation to introduce the use of reason in understanding the tradition [(3)].

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(1) "Afterwards, when I took you through a course of logic, I found that my great expectations of you were confirmed, and I considered you fit to receive from me an exposition of the esoteric ideas conatained in the prophetic books, that you might understand them as they are understood by men of culture", GP, p. 1.

(2) It is not here intended to explain all these expressions to the unlettered or to mere tyros, a previous knowledge of logic and natural philosophy being indispensable, or to those who confine their attention to the study of our holy law, I mean the study of the canonical law alone; for the true knowledge of the Torah is the special aim of this and similar works", GP, p. 2.

(3) "Consequently, who wishes to attain to human perfection mut therefore first study logic, next the various branches of mathematics in their proper order, then physics, and lastly metaphysics". GP, p. 46. "My son, so long as you are engaged in studying the mathematical sciences and logic, you belong to those who go around about the palace in search of the gate", GP, p. 385.

III- Identity between Reason and Revelation

For the first time in the history of Judaism, a rational Jewish theology, and philosophy begins, with clear reference to its Islamic sources, especially to Mu'tazilism. It is not by chance that Maimonides devotes the last six chapters (LXXI-LXXVI) to Kalam, transliterating the Arabic word, not translating it to keep the original Islamic source. Maimonides mentions the Mutakallimim more than the Kalam (1). Kalam is a method of thought to understand by the reason the foundations of belief, to find rational arguments for their validity, and to argue against opposite doctrines (2). Kalam is also theories resulting from its method, such as the theory of substance and accidents (3). Kalam is also stereotyped arguments to substantiate certain propositions, such as the three arguments proving the unity of God, or other arguments which are not in the Kalam such as arguments for the incorporeality of God (4). Kalam is finally a coherent system, built upon propositions and arguments, doctrines and methods, exempt of internal contradictions (5).

The word Mutakallimim according to Maimonides refers to a general trend more than to an abstract science like Kalam. Mutakallimim represent a dynamic cultural movement in Islamic societies, carrying intellectual pluralism and the art of dialogue between propositions and counter-propositions. They had the lead

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(1) The word Mutakallimim in these six chapters on Kalam is mentoined 77 times in plural and only six times Mutakalem in singular, while the word Kalam is mentioned only 5 times.

(2) It also happened that at the time, when the Mohammedan adopted this method of the Kalam…". GP, p. 108.

(3) "This difference is exclusively effected by the accidents according to the theory of kalam, which we mentioned in explaining the eighth proposition", GP, p. 129.

(4) "This argument is likewise based on one of the propositions of the Kalam", GP, p. 140; and such an argument is not founded on the propositions of the Kalam.

(5) "and this would be contrary to the doctrine adopted by the Kalam, that God is one". GP, p. 142.

in inventing this "admirable science" a long time before Descartes, to prove the veracity of doctrines by rational arguments. They were followed by Jewish and Christian thinkers alike. However, masters stayed masters and disciples stayed disciples. The works of the imitators are insignificant compared to the works of the creators [(1)].

In spite of the differences in conclusions between the Mutakalemin, they all follow the same method [(2)]. That is why Maimonides does not mention Theologian's proper names. He is only satisfied with the Kalam as discipline, with the Mutakallimim as a dynamic rationalist trend in every religious community, and with the two major trends in every theology, namely rationalists (Mu'tazilah) versus "Fideists" (Ash'ariyah), liberals versus conservatives.

Indeed, Maimonides refers to the two major sects in Islamic theology, namely the Mu'tazilah and the Ash'ariyah [(3)]. But, he quickly falls into the famous but erroneous judgment that Islamic theology is based on propositions taken from the works of the Greeks to refute philosophy! If Maimonides makes such judgment on philosophy, that would be understandable. Islamic theology, Ulm Usul Al-Din, is authentically Islamic. The exogenous, namely

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(1) "... They followed the lead of the Mohammedan Mutakallimim, and what they wrote is insignificant in comparison with the kindred works of the Mohammedans. GP, p. 108.

(2) "This method was adopted by every Mohammedan Mutakallimim... although the Mohammedan Mutakallimim disagree in the methods of their proofs and employ different propositions in demonstrating the act of creation or in rejecting the eternity of the universe, they invariably begin with proving the creatio ex nihilo, and to establish on that proof the existence of God". GP, p. 110.

(3) Maimonides in these six chapters on Kalam mentions the Mu'tazilah six times and the Asha'riyah five times. "You should also know that whatever the Mohammedans, that is the Mu'tazila and the Asha'riyah said on those subjects, consists in nothing but theories founded on propositions which are taken from the works of these Greek and Syrian scholars who attempted to oppose the systems of the philosophers and to refute their arguments". GP, p. 108-109.

Greek philosophy was translated, assimilated and reintegrated in the endogenous.

Maimonides describes the development of Islamic theology in three steps. First, there was the Kalam, undivided into sects. Second, the Mu'tazilah appeared as a separatist movement in the Kalam. Third, the Asha'riyah appeared as a revisionist movement from within the Mu'tazilah [(1)]. According to Maimonides, only the Mu'tazilah had their influence on Jewish scholars, since they were at the origin of Islamic theology and the most rationalist. Asha' riyah had their peculiar views and were not followed [(2)].

Maimonides' dialectical thought considers reason represented by the Mutakallimim, namely, the radicals as a source of the doctrine of creatio ex nihilo in the same title and the same virtue as the other source well known in tradition, namely prophecy. He gives the choice for his community to take the one or the father [(3)].

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(1) It also happened, that at the time when the Mohammedans adopted this method of the Kalam, there arose among them a certain sect called Mu'tazilah, i.e. separatists. Although another sect, the Ashar'iyah, with their own peculiar views, was subsequently established amongst the Mohammedans". GP p. 108.

(2) "In certain things our scholars followed the theory and the method of these Mu'tazilah. Although another sect, the Ashar'iyah, with their own peculiar views, was subsequently established among the Mohammedans, you will not find any of these views in the writings of our authors; not because these authors preferred the opinions of the firstnamed sect to those later; but because they chanced first to become acquainted with the theory of the Mu'tazilah which they adopted and treated as demonstrated truth" GP.p. 1 08.

(3) "You are at liberty to content your self with the declaration of the Mutakallamim to and to believe that the act of creation has been demonstrated by proof; nor can there be any harm if you consider it unproven that the universe had a beginning, and accept this theory as supported by the authority of the prophets", GP, III; "I find it necessarty to mention to you the general propositions of the Mutakallimim, by which they prove the act of creation, the existence of God, His Unity and His Incorporeality". GP. p. 112; "In subsequent chapters I shall treat of the Propositions of the Mutakallimim and describe the method by which they explain the four fundamental principles" GP. p. 113.

Once Maimonides makes room for reason represented by the Mutakallimim, he argues against them in a second battle, namely,, which proof is more rational, the opinion of the Mutakallimim or the real properties of things proposed by him? The main contradiction is between reasons and tradition, in which Maimonides sides himself with the Mutakallimim and gives the choice to his community to do so. The difference in view between Maimonides and the Mutakallimim regarding the type of proof to be used to demonstrate the creatio ex nihilo is a secondary consideration [(1)].

Maimonides' art was to expose Islamic theology in order to make a cultural shock in his tradition for his community, showing them how to use reason in understanding revelation in spite of divergence of view between theologians inside every community and between theologians of different religious communities. It would then be difficult to know if Maimonides is with the Mutakallimim or against them. He is with them de Jure, since they use reason to understand revelation, but against them de Facto, since they do not use reason properly, the same criticism addressed to them by Averrois.

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(1) "You should, however know that some of the propositions, started and proved by the radicals, i.e, the Mutakalimim, in order to prove the act of creation, imply an order of things contrary to that which really exists, and involve a complete change in the laws of nature" GP, III "...While the Mutakallimim establish their arguments on propositions which are to such extent contrary to the actual state of things as to compel these arguers to deny, altogether the existence of the laws of nature ... and shall attain the same and which every one of them had in view, yet I shall not contradict the laws of nature... Even the most cogent of the proofs offered by the Mutakalfimim respecting the act of creation has only been obtained by reversing the whole order of things and by rejecting everything fully demonstrated by the philosophers". GP. p. 112.

The Mutakallimim had their limits. They used propositions without proving the premises on which these propositions were founded. They proved only propositions which they thought true and disproved others which they thought untrue. Once the truth is known in advance, demonstrations follow. Dialectical arguments have their limits [(1)]. That is why Maimonides prefers returning to the properties of things, to nature, in order to have a criterion of validity beyond opinions. After studying the methods of the Mutakallimim, he concludes that, for them, the real existence of things proves nothing since they are different opposite forms, every one is equally true [(2)]. They follow the imagination, thinking that they follow the intellect.

Since the method proposed by Maimonides is that one returning to the real properties of things, physics look over metaphysics and all the twelve propositions selected from the Mutakallimim are related to physics. Maimonides, then, shifts from dialectical theology of the Mutakallimim to physical theology, similar to that in philosophy. Dialectical theology is a waste of time and life of several generation [(3)].

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(1) "...and that the first Mutakallimim had discussed those subjects with the sole object of defeating certain views of the philosophers and demonstrating the insufficiency of their proofs, ... for the first Mutakailimim tried to prove a proposition when it was expedient to demonstrate its truth; and to disapprove it, when its rejection was desirable and when it was contrary to the opinion which they wished to uphold ... In this manner the earlier Mutakallimiin effected a radical cure of the Malady". GP p. 110.

(2) "Having studied the works of these Mutakallimim as far its I had an opportunity... I found that the method of all Mutakailimim was the same in its general charactristics, namely they assume that the really existing form of things proves nothing at all, because it is merely one of the various phases of the things, the opposite of which is equally admissible to our minds. In many instances these theologians were guided by their imaginations and thought they were following the dictates of the intellect." GP. p. 110.

(3) "Nor must you expect that I shall repeat the arguments of the Mutakailimim in support of their propositions, with which they wasted their time, with which the time

However, Jewish scholars of Andalusia adopted more the views of philosophers rather than the methods of the Mutakallimim, since philosophers' views are more adequate to Jewish doctrines than the Mutakallimims [(1)]. The purpose of the Mutakallimim was to defeat philosophers' views. However, philosophers according to Maimonides are the Greek philosophers. It is possible that he may have in mind the common idea that Islamic philosophers are the followers of the Greeks. Maimonides would analyze in the second part of the same problems he studied already, in the first part according to the Mutakallimim [(2)].

Maimonides' project for the foundation of a new Jewish Theology following the Islamic model after its reconstruction from the level of dialectics to the level of demonstration is very similar to Averrois' project in Manahij Al-Adillah [(3)]. The historical question of a possible influence on Maimonides, that Maimonides was far advanced in age when he knew Averrois, is purely factual. What matters is the similarity of the two projects of Maimonides and Averrois, given the common cultural milieu in which they were living and the common opponent they were fighting, namely traditionalism [(4)].

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of future generations will likewise be wasted, and on which numerous books have been written" GP, p. 112.

(1) "You will find that they did not adopt any of the methods of the Mutakallimim", GP, p. 108. "...and that the first Mutakallimim had discussed those subjects with the sole object of defeating certain views of the philosophers, and demonstrating the insufficiency of their proofs." GP p. 110.

(2) "Having thus discussed the arguements of the Mutakallimim we shall proceed to consider the propositions of the philosophers and their arguments for the existence of God, His Unity incorporeality, and we shall for the present, assume the eternity of the Universe without finally accepting it". GP, p. 144.

(3) I have examined this method and find it most objectionable. It must be rejected, because all the proofs for the creation have weak points and cannot be considered as convincing except by those who do not know the difference between a proof, a dialectical argument, and a sophism", GP, p. 110.

(4) GP, Introduction p. XVI.

IV- Identity between Revelation and Nature

Maimonides' initiative was also to show the identity between revelation and science, between scriptures and nature, between Jewish tradition and modern physics, following the Mu'tazilite physical theology and Averrois defense of the determinism of the laws of nature, continued on till Spinoza. That is why the Mu'tazilah were preferred, because they were closer to physics than the Ash'ariyah. A whole subsect, namely the naturalist Ashab Al-Tabai' (Mu'ammar, Thumama, Al-Gahidt, AlNazzam, Hisham) have greatly used physical concepts defending the autonomy of nature. They have introduced the atom theory in order to lay the foundation for the physical theology Maimonides is looking for (1). Maimonides refers also to mathematical sciences as a part of the whole science, as a discipline, comparing the mathematical demonstration as a rational accurate argument with Pseudo-rational arguments of the theologians, in connection with the third proposition in physical theology of the Mutakallimim (2).

Maimonides begins by exposing a certain kind of parallelism between the universe and man, which is a well known theme in Islamic philosophy, especially Al-Farabi in his parallelism between man and society. The study of the body is similar to the study of the thing. However, since the body refers to the soul, the thing also refers to God. This parallelism then was possible thanks to an unmentioned third part, God. Thinking in man and the world would lead to wisdom and providence, namely to the attributes of God. What Maimonides calls the real properties of things is indeed the "ascendant way" by opposition to the "descendant way" in thinking,

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(1) "Some of them, however, and they belong to the sect of the Mu'tazilah, say that there are accidents which endure for a certain period and other accidents which do not endure for two atoms of time". GP, p. 124.

(2) "Furthermore, in the well known book of problems by the sons of Shakir are mentioned more than a hundred problems, all solved and practically demonstrated". GP, p. 122.

the relation between the world and God. It is the same duality between induction and deduction, between the ontological argument and the cosmological or the physico-teleological arguments [1].

Maimonides mentions twelve propositions held by the Mutakallimim, all of them belong to the theory of substance and accidents in order to begin his ascending way by the real properties of things. The chosen way may express the Jewish soul in its affirmation of the material world distinct from Greek idealism and the Mutakallimim hypothetical propositions.

In spite of the differences between the Mutakallimim in methods, they share the same twelve propositions in order to establish the four principles as follows [2].

1- Everything is composed from atoms. Some Mutakallimim proposed that if two atoms were joined, they become a body and each atom would also become a body. All bodies are composed of similar atoms [3]. Indeed, atom theory was used in Islamic theology in order to prove the contingency of nature and consequently the existence of Necessary Being. It helps also in explaining the creation and the end of the world by composition and decomposition of the atoms.

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(1) GP p. 113-119.
(2) "There are twelve propositions common to all Mutakallimim, however different their individual opinions and methods may be, the Mutakallimim require them in order to establish their views on the four principles". GP p. 120.
(3) "If, therefore, two atoms were joined together, each atom would become a body and they would thus form two bodies, a theory which in fact has been proposed by some Mutakallimim... The Mutakallimim further asserts that it is impossible to find a body that is not composed of such equal atoms which are placed side by side." GP, p. 120.

2- The original Mutakallimim affirmed the existence of vacuum. They were compelled to do so for the composition and the movement of the atom [(1)]. However, in Islamic theology, it is a debatable question, since for other trends vacuum does not exist, since God is every where. This poses the question of physical theology and its dependence on different feelings of the Divinity, which change according to individuals, groups, societies, cultures and periods of history. A moment would come to consider any feeling of the Divinity as an alienation in the feeling of nature. Every theology is a reversed anthropology.

3- Time is also composed of atoms as the Mutakallimim saw Aristotle combining time with space, which is a complete misunderstanding by the Mutakallimim of the nature of time [(2)].

However, these three propositions can be refuted. A line with an odd number cannot be bisected [(3)]. Geometry based on the invisibility of space would be impossible. A lot of technical devices based on the negation of vacuum, such as waterworks, would also be impossible.

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(1) "The original Mutakallimim also believe that there is a vaccum ... Thus the Mutakadimim are compelled to assume a vaccum, in order that the atom may combine, separate and move in that vaccum." GP p. 121.

(2) "The Mutakailimim undoubtedly saw how Aristotle proved that time, space and locomotion are of the same nature..." GP. p 121; The Mutakallimim did not at all understand the nature of time". GP p. 121.

(3) "According to the theory of the Mutakallimim, such a line cannot be bisected". GP, p. 122.

4- The accidents of things have real existence. This is true if the Mutakallimim have left it as a clear and simple proposition, without deducing from it other propositions such as a substance, which does not have life, as accident must have death (1). In Islamic theology, especially the Ash'arite, the accidents were added to the substance, as the Attributes of God are added to His Essence, in order to affirm the additional relationship, not the equational, as the Mu'taziliah do, between Essence and Attributes of God. This proves once more that physics is indeed reversed metaphysics.

5- Every atom is provided by accidents which cannot exist by themselves. Such a proposition helps in conceiving Necessary Being from behind the scene, sustaining the whole world of substances. However, objections arise regarding the soul, the intellect and knowledge. Are they also accidents or substances? That was the reason why theologians conceived "separated substances".

6- The accidents do not exist during two time-atoms. When God desires to deprive a thing of its existence, he discontinues the creation of its accidents, according to some Mutakallimim. One thing cannot be the cause of the other, such as the indigo as cause of the blackness of a cloth (2). In man, will and power are also accidents without duration. In Islamic theology, one atom cannot exist in two times since duration is an attribute of God. No accident can be the cause of the other, since God is the only cause. Both theories aimed at opposing the physical theory of "natural force". God is the efficient cause of everything (3).

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(1) "Had this proposition been left by the Mutakallimim in this form, it would have been correct, simple, clear and indisputable". GP, p. 123.

(2) "Mutakallimim say that each of the atoms created by God must have accidents..." GP, p. 123.

(3) "When God desires to deprive a thing of its existence, He, according to some of the Mutakallimim, discontinues the creation of its accidents, and to Him the body ceases

7- The absence of a property is a property such as life and death, with the exception of some Mu'tazilah [1]. Theologians wanted to conceive God as the creator of life and death alike, not only life and leaving death as a natural absence of life.

8- Everything has substance and accidents in the physical world, including heavenly bodies and even the Divine Throne. God alone is a substance without accidents.

9- No accident can be a substance to another accident. There is no indirect relation between accidents and substance [2]. The multiplicity of accidents returns to the unity of substance.

10- Everything conceived by imagination is admitted by the intellect as possible, as if imagination and intellect were the same [3]. However philosophers followed by Maimonides make a

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to exist". GP. p. 124; "Some of the Mutakallimim accordingly contend that this white cloth, which is coloured when put into the vessel filled with indigo, has not been blackened by the indigo... In short, most of the Mutakallimim believe that it must never be said that one thing is the cause of another", GP, p. 125; "The will and the power created in man, according to the concurrent belief of the Mutakallimim, together with the act created in him, according to some of them, are accidents without duration", GP, p. 126-128.

(1) "Death and life are likewise accident, and as the Mutakallimim distinctly state, life is constantly destroyed and renewed during the existence of a living being". GP, p. 126. "Some of the Mutakallimim hold that there are cases in which the absence of a physical property is not a real property." GP, p. 127.

(2) "The Mutakallimim deny the indirect relation of the accident to the substance...." GP, p. 127.

(3) This proposition concerns the theory of "admissability" which is mentioned by the Mutakallimim and forms the principal support of their doctrine". p. 127; "Again, reason does not admit the possibility of a substance existing without an accident, or an accident existing without a substance, a possibility admitted by Some of the Mutakallimim" GP. p. 128 . "..... as Abu Nasr says in speaking of that which the Mutakallimim call intellect...", GP, p. 128, "... I shall now introduce in the form of a discussion supposed to have taken place between Mutakallem and a philosopher. A Mutakallem said to a philosopher ... The Mutakallemim refuted this reply... GP, p.129. "We explained the view of the Mutakallem have established all that they wish

distinction between them. A dialogue between a Mutakallem and a philosopher ends by the victory of the philosopher and the defeat of the Mutakallem. The Mutakallimim know the distinction, but they do not admit it. Theologians indeed defended imagination in order to facilitate the understanding of prophecy. Philosophers even more, considered imagination as a higher faculty which can perceive and express through images, more than the intellect can do. Maimonides' defense of the intellect distinct from imagination makes him more a Mu'tazilite rationalist, since reason can interpret the images transforming them to meanings.

11- The existence of infinity in things is impossible without any distinction between the infinity of the body and its divisibility ad infinitum, between the coexistence of an infinite number of things and the infinite number of beings successively existing. Infinity is the privilege of God (1).

12- The senses are always not to be trusted. Sense errors are due to the misperception of existing objects and the absence of others. Intellect has to correct sense errors (2).

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to infer from these propositions, they arrive to the conclusion that the component atoms of cream and of iron are alike" GP, p. 129; "It is here of no= =moment whether a thing contains a larger or smaller quantity of atoms, for according to the view of the Mutakailimim which we explained in treating the fifth proposition, every accident exists in each of its atoms." GP, p. 129, "Do not think that the Mutakallimim ignore this altogether" GP. p. 131.

(1) "The infinity is rejected by the Mutakallimim as fallacious." GP. p. 120; "The Mutakallimim, however, make no difference between the existence of an infinite body and the divisibility of a body, or of time and infinitun between the beings who exist at present, and the infinite number of beings succcessively existing... Some of the Mutakallimim endeavour to establish their proposition concerning the last named from the infinite. and to demonstrate its impossiblity..." GP. p. 132.

(2) "For two reasons the Mutakallimim find fault with the perception of senses". GP, p. 132; "You must not believe that the Mutakallimim had no purpose in agreeing upon this proposition, or as most of the later adherents of that school affirm, that the first Mutakallimim had no ulterior object in endeavouring to prove the existence of atoms..." GP, p. 133; The Mutakallimim say that no notice should be taken of the

By these twelve propositions, held in Islamic theology, Maimonides wanted to prove for his Jewish community that:

1- There is no danger at all in adopting physics as a foundation of their traditions, that theology is not a closed dogmatic science but a physical theology. Maimonides by this motivation would have paved the way for the continuity to switch from the closed book, namely, the Torah to the open book, namely Nature.

2- Reason and senses are the way by which nature can be understood and perceived. Once a proposition is put as an axiom or as an experience, other series of propositions can be deduced from it. A coherent system can be consequently built, forming a whole world view based on reason and nature, by opposition to another world view based on tradition and transmission. Since both world views are claiming revelation, it is up to the community to choose.

3- These twelve propositions are mostly from Ash'arite theology, that means a halfway rational and natural theology, not a radical Mu'tazilite theology, depending only on reason and nature. Maimonides apparently wanted to initiate Jewish the community to Rationalism and Naturalism, but gradually, by the simple acceptance of the use of reason and the perception of nature. Once the principle is admitted, radical reason can take over "Fideist" reason and independent nature can prevail over the dependent nature. Even if' Ash'ariyah was a revisionist movement in Islamic theology, it is here proposed for the Jewish community as the bad work of reason in revelation in order to defend the right one.

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perception of the senses, so long as the proposition is supported by the testimony of the intellect and established by proof". GP, p. 133. "The Mutakallimim, however, meet these objections by saying, whenever they can do so, that the perception of these things is withheld from the senses" GP. p. 133.

4- Sometimes theology imposes itself on physics, such as the negation of causality, of natural force, and even of the free will in order to conceive God as the sole efficient and prime cause. And sometimes physics imposes itself on theology, such as the theory of substance and accidents in physics transformed to the theory of essence and attributes in theology. Maimonides' undeclared purpose may have been the exposition of such mutual dependence between these two sciences in order that the future generation, that of Spinoza, would choose the complete independence of both.

V- The Identity between Reason, Revelation and Nature.

This identity between Reason, Revelation and Nature is a combination of the two previous identities: Reason and Revelation, and Nature and Revelation, since both have Revelation as a middle term. Here the Islamic model culminates as the unity between the rational, the revealed and the real, between philosophy, religion and science. Once this model is built, any belief can be easily understood. Maimonides gives in his theology, following the Mutakallimim, three beliefs: the creation of the world, the unity of God, and the incorporeality of God.

A- The creation of the World.

The creation of the world is proved and absurdum, by proving the impossibility of the eternity of the world by the following seven arguments [(1)].

1- By proving the creation of one thing, the creatio ex nihilo of the entire universe is proved, given the hidden analogy between the part and the whole [(2)].

2- The proof of the creation of one thing is equally valuable for proving the creatio ex nihilo of the whole universe, given also the hidden analogy between the question about the origin of one thing and the question about the origin of the whole universe [(3)].

3- Since there is no reason why atoms should be combined or separated, this proves that they are created from nothing, that the reason of their existence is not themselves [(4)].

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(1) "I now proceed to explain the theory of the Mutakallimim concerning the above mentioned four problems" GP, p. 122; "In this chapter will be given an outline of the proofs by which the Mutakallimim attempt to demonstrate that the universe is not eternal". GP, p. 133.

(2) "Some of the Mutakallimim thought that by proving the creation of one thing, they demonstrated the creatio ex nihilo in reference to the entire universe". GP, p. 133.

(3) "The result of the question proves, according to the opinion of the Mutakallimim, that the whole universe came into existence from absolute non-existence" GP. p. 134.

(4) "This argument according to the opinion of Mutakallimim establishes the theory that the universe has been created from nothing. You have already been told, that those who employ this argument rely on the first proposition of the Mutakallimim with its corolaries". GP. p. 134; "The Mutakallimim, as I have already told you, apply the term non-existence only to the absolute non-existence and not to the absence of properties" GP, p. 265.

4- Since the whole universe is composed of substance and accidents, and since the accidents are not eternal, the substratum of the accidents cannot be eternal either [(1)].

5- Since everything is determined in its place, size and composition, that proves that its existence has been determined not by itself. According to Maimonides this is the best argument [(2)].

6- Since existence triumphed over non-existence, this triumph is called creatio ex nihilo. This argument as well as the previous one are based on the principle of determination [(3)].

7- If the world were eternal, the number of the dead would be infinite and consequently an infinite number of souls would coexist. Since it has been proved that the co-existence of an infinite number of things is impossible, then the world is finite. This argument is based on the philosophical doctrine of the immortality of the soul [(4)].

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(1) "Every material object consists of substance and accidents, that is to say, of atoms and accidents in the sense in which the Mutakallimim use the term". GP. p. 135.

(2) "This argument is based on the theory of determination, and is made much of by the Mutakallimim", GP, p. 135; "The Mutakallimim give a great many examples". GP, p. 136.

(3) "one of the modem Mutakallimim thought he had found a very good argument, much better than any advanced hitherto, namely the argument based on the triumph of existence over non-existence" GP. p. 136; "Our opponent who assumes the eternity of the universe, employs the term "possible" and says "the existence of the universe is possible" in a sense different from that in which the Mutakallimim applies it..." GP, p. 136.

(4) "... Provided the opponent admitted the correctness of the idea which that Mutakallimim formed of the philosopher's view on the immortality of the soul", GP. p. 137; "It should be noted that whoever attempts to prove or disprove the eternity of the universe by these arguments of the Mutakallimim must neccessarily rely on one of the two following propositions, or on both of them ... on the tenth... Or on the eleventh..." GP, p. 138; "These are the principal arguments of the Mutakallimim in

Maimonides does not refute these seven arguments. He is showing only their weaknesses, asking for a better use of reason and nature. He is just giving an example of the capacity of natural reason to prove the creation of the world, the second major belief after the existence of God.

B - The unity of God

The unity of God can be proved by the following five argumemets, according to the Mutakallimim [(1)]:

1- The argument of mutual neutralization, that means the impossibility of having two gods since one will make the atom warm and the other would make it cold, and since the atom having one quality, then God is the one who gave the quality to the atom [(2)]. The argument of Mumana'ah exists indeed in Ash'arite theology, but Maimonides applied it specifically to the atom.

2- In case of two gods, they will share same attributes and one will have some attributes absent in the other, in order to conceive the difference between both. The perfect one is God, namely the one having the prime cause as Attribute.

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seeking to establish the creato ex nihilo". GP, p. 138. "The methods by which the Mutakallimim proved the creatio ex nihilo, have already been described by me and I have exposed their weak points", GP, p. 178.

(1) "In this chapter I shall explain to you how the Mutakallimim prove the utility of God", GP. p. 138.

(2) "The first argument is that of mutual neutralization, and is employed by the majority of the Mutakallimim". GP, p. 139. "Proofs of this kind are founded on the atomic theory contained in the first proposition of the Mutakallimim on the composition which refers to the creation of the accidents..." GP, p. 139. "When the Mutakallimim noticed the weakness of their argument, for which they had some apparent support, they had recourse to another argument" GP. p. 139.

3- Since the will of God is independent of things willed, and since the will of God wills many things, the will is One while things willed are many [1].

4- The existence of an action is a positive evidence of the existence of one agent, but does not prove necessarily the existence of more than one [2].

5- The impossibility of two deities creating the world, otherwise both will be imperfect. Since the world is created, the creator should be one and perfect.For Maimonides all these proofs can be accepted or rejected, since they are not based on the analysis of the property of things. They show the importance of the use of reason, but in the right way. The same argument is hold by Averrois against the Ash'ariyah

(1) "For some of the Mutakallimim belonging to the old school assume that when the Creator Wills a thing, the Will is not an element superadded to the Essence of God". GP, p. 140.

(2) "One of the modern Mutakallimim thought that he found a proof of the unity of God in the idea of requisiteness". GP, p. 140. "Further we do not say that the Almighty is imperfect, because he does not, according to the opinion of the Mutakallimim, produce a body otherwise than by the creation of atoms and by their combination with accidents created in them". GP, p. 141; "Some of the Mutakallimim, weary of these arguments, declared that the unity of God is a doctrine which must be received as a matter of faith, but most of them rejected this theory, and reviled its authors". GP, p. 141. "For the Mutakallimim do not hold that the universe has any defined properties on which a true proof could be founded, or that man's intellect is endowed with any such faculty as would enable him to form correct conclusions." GP, p. 141.

C - The incorporeality of God

The arguments proving the incorporeality of God are weak, not in the same strength as those proving the unity of God [(1)].

The argument based on the corporeality requiring composition of substance and forms is not from the Mutakallimim, and so a naive argument ad absurdum. However, the incorporeality of God can be proved by the following three arguments:

1- If God were corporeal, His Essence would exist in each atom or in one. In the last case, the existence of other atoms would be superfluous. In the former case, we will have many deities according to the number of atoms, which is against the unity of God already proved.

2- God cannot be compared to any of his creatures. Since creatures are corporeal, God will be incorporeal. This simple argument is based on the negation of the participation of two opposites in the same qualities [(2)].

3- If God were corporeal, He would be finite. Since God is Infinite, He is incorporeal. This argument is a conditional one since it depends on the demonstration of another. Incorporeality is a simple deduction of Infinity.

In these arguments, Maimonides appears less critical in order to give the simple reason his right to think and his credit in thought.

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(1) "The reasoning and arguments of the Mutakallimim to demonstrate the incorporeality of God are very weak and indeed inferior to their arguments of the Unity of God... Those who maintain that God is incorporeal because a corporeal object consists of substance and form a combination known to be impossible in the divine Being are not in my opinion Mutakallimim". GP, p. 141. "Here we only propose to discuss the arguments by which the Mutakallimim desire to prove the incorporeality of God in accordance with their propositions and the method of their reasoning". GP, p. 142.

(2) "How could this argument, though it be weak, be refuted by these strange methods of the Mutakallimim?". GP p. 142.

VI- Conclusion.

The Islamic model is not only related to theology, physics, metaphysics, astronomy, and mathematics but, it is also related to ethics and politics. Maimonides deals with ethics only in the third part of the Guide. However, the Islamic model appears through direct references to Islamic philosophy and theology. He refers to the theory of the attainment of human perfection through the intellect, unifying itself with the intellect Agent as an example of human perfection. Raising one's soul from virtue to virtue will bring Divine protection [(1)].

Mankind can be unified through Universalism, not ethnocentrism, sectarianism, parochialism and chauvinism. Universalism has long been defended by the prophets since Noah, Abraham and Moses, reaffirmed by Christ in the name of the new covenant and realized in Islam in the Andalusian model of Spain. It is a permanent virtue in a Palestinian model in which Jews, Christians and Muslims can live again and under its protection.

Maimonides in his ethics makes a second reference to Islamic theology regarding free will. According to Asha'ariyah, God creates in the hand holding a pen, four accidents, none of them the cause of the other. The four are only coexisting: the Will, the power, the motion of the body and the motion of the pen. According to the Mu'tazilah and a sub-sect of Asha'ariyah rejected by their majority,

(1) "Abu Nasr in the introduction to his Commentary on Aristotle's Nikomachean Ethics, says as follows: "Those who possess the faculty of raising their souls from virtue to virtue obtain, according to Plato, Divine protection to a higher degree", GP. p. 290.

man has acts by a power created in him [1]. Asha'ariyah theory of causality giving the absolute priority to the prime cause falls into absurdities [2].

The freedom of man agreed upon in the Andaluslan model by the three Abrahamic religions can continue in the Palestinian model, the freedom of all. The convergence of the three traditions in the Andalusian model can be a real alternative coming from history, to the actual divergence and exclusiveness.

The Andalusian model is not an utopia, since it existed in the past. The challenge is how to be authentically Jew, Christian and Muslim, asserting respective traditions away from cultural alienation carrying ideas of ethnic nations surrounded by geographical boundaries, making war to each other. In the Andalusian model, the freedom of man is linked to the universalism of his intellect, which corresponds to the life in the Desert under the starry sky looking for water and grass, settling in tents, wandering everywhere, That was the life of the Semite Nomads, Arabs and Hebrews, intermarrying clans and allying tribes. The Andalusian model is an expression of the Semite Nomadic life in which the Nation-State is completely alien.

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(1) "Most of them, especially the sect of the Asha'ariyah assume that when the pen is set in motion God has created four accidents, none of which is the cause of any of the rest...". GP, p. 125. "The Mu'tazilah contend that man acts by virtue of the power which has been created in him. Some of the Asha'ariyah assert that the power created in man participates in the act, and is connected with it, an opinion which has been rejected by the majority of them". GP, p. 125.

(2) T'he Mohammedan Asha'ariyah adhere to this theory, not with standing evident absurdities implied in it," GP, p. 283. "The Asha'ariyah were therefore compelled to assume that motion and rest of living beings are predestinated, and that it is not in the power of man to do a certain thing or to have it undone", GP. P. 284. "The Mu'tazilah profess this theory (free will of man), although they do not believe in man's absolute free will". GP, p. 284.

ISLAM WITHOUT BORDERS

The Chinese Case

1- Islam came to China through trade [1]. A Muslim was then called “Dashi,” a trader who dressed in white during the Ummayyades and in black during the Abbasides. Religion was linked to profession. Sometimes the Muslim is called “Tashish” from Tajik, a Persian word which may have derived from Tay, the Arab tribe. The name which became more common later on was Hoy, from Weighur, a tribe in Turkistan, West China.

However, the relation between Arabia and China was prior to Islam, through land and sea. Emperors of China exchanged Ambassadors with Iraq and Persia. Narratives have Sa'ad Ibn Abi Waqqas, the prophet’s companion, coming to China, staying in Canton, and buried there in his mosque, “shawq al-Nabi,” with the inscription “Whoever dies a foreigner dies a marrty”. During Othman Ibn 'Affan’s era, relations with China became stronger. For the first time, the Chinese were astonished by those ethical foreigners. Ambassadorships continued through the Umayyades. Some fugitive shi’aites also came. Chinese Porcelain was discovered in Egypt during the Fatimides, and in Iraq during the Abbasides. Not only the goods, silk, porcelain, and tea, papyrology, fire, weapons, and magnetic needles, but also industries, were transferred from China.

The expansion of Islam in China came during the Yunan Mongol Kingdom (1271-1368 A.D.), whether because of

(*) International Seminar on Islamic Frontiers of China. Kualalumpur, 7-8 November, 1994.

(1) The first Arab muslim coming is Abu Ubaida Abullah al-dasim, around 133H-75O AD. The second was a merchant, Solman, one century later.

commerce or because the irreligious Mongols tolerated other religions. However, there is no accurate data on Muslims in China, currently estimated at around fifteen millions distributing of many nationalities within China. They are all Hanifites, with small Isma'ili traces.

Islam as a religion without borders can be exemplified in Africa as well as in Asia, two continents of a multitude of ethnicities, races, tribes, languages and religions. After unifying the Arabian Peninsula, Islam swept Africa and Asia, unifying peoples and tribes. Islam came to China first by sea, in Canton in the south, through trade, before and after Islam; then by land, from central Asia, from the steps in Sin king in the west of China. Islam is the only religion intertwined with Confucianism and Buddhism. It became a Chinese religion and thereby presents historical Asian evidence of "Islam without borders."

2- Islam is a Universal religion, going beyond tribes, ethnicities and nations in the name of Tawhid. Etymologically, Tawhid is an active name, a process of unification, an effort to unify oneself in the unity of the character and integrity of human personality. It manifests itself also in the unity of society without social classes, rich and poor, ruler and ruled, master and slave; in international relations, all nations being equal in rights and duties; in peaceful coexistence, without mutual aggression.

Tawhid can be translated not only as "Unity of God," but also as "Transcendence of God," which means always going beyond, always moving toward the summit, orienting oneself towards the Universal. In the summit, everything converges, "solvitur in

excelsis." The Universal in man is his soul, his reason, his piety and his good deed. That is why all human beings can communicate with each other, in a common and universal language, with common understanding and for mutual co-operation.

This movement towards the Universal, the one Principle and the One Norm, has a liberating function in human consciousness, opening out its boundaries: Passions, inclinations, interests, lethargy, laziness, fears, to be followed by a subsequent movement in society and history without borders. Here, Transcendence helps in breaking through boundaries, more than immanence, cosmic or anthropomorphic orientations. Fetichism and idolatry are the outcome of such material immanence. Transcendence can reach immanence through the universality of the good deed and internal piety. God is the absolutely Far and the absolutely Near, the Eternal Now.

That is why Islam expanded in Asia and Africa, as it was adopted by multitudes of tribes and nations. Islam unified Arab tribes in Arabia, putting an end to tribalism and genealogies. All tribes are equals. Individuals are only differentiated by piety and good deeds. The warrying tribes became one Nation.

From Arabia, Islam expanded to Africa, by land through the Sinai to North Africa, and by sea through Eden to East Africa. Arabs and Africans are equal in front of one Transcendent God, breaking through borders of race, colour, language, customs and manners. Swahili was a unifying language. Kingdoms of Mali and States of North Africa are historical examples of Islam as a unifying power. The Sahara was absorbed by the Arabs in the North and Africans in the South. Islam in South Africa is the link

among Indian Malaysians, blacks and even whites, and becoming more and more the symbol of national unity.

Islam also expanded in Asia, by land northwards to Syria, and by land and sea westwards to Persia, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, central Asia and China, demonstrating Islamic unifying power as a socio-historical process. The Monghol Empire in India, the Kingdoms of Buhkara and Samarkand, are some historical implementations of such unity. Islam, which was based on the metaphysics of unity, absorbed Hinduism, which was based on a metaphysics of plurality.

In China, Islam and Nationalism were intertwined through Islamization of China and "Chinesation" of Islam. Islam confirmed Chinese identity against alienation and particularly against Westernization. Islam became identical with Nationalism, as it appeared also in contemporary national movements in Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Iran and Afghanistan. Islam affirmed Chinese particularism within Islamic Universalism. The Chinese stayed Chinese in his customs and manners, language and art, while in his value system became a Muslim. That means a universal Chinese. The depth of the Chinese has been completed by the height of Tawhid. The Muslim Chinese was easily recognizable, worshipping God without icons and performing in practice his ethical universal norms. Therefore, Tawhid is the first incentive for Islam without borders.

3- Islam is a religion of Reason. The Transcendence of God cannot be concieved except with reason. Only Reason can perceive the Universal. While senses can perceive in space, and in limited distances partial objects, Reason can transcend the particulars to the Universal and deduce the individuals from the General.

Reason is the same in every individual, a power of thinking, understanding, reasoning and communicating. Reason is practiced by all nations. There is no primitive mind or savage thinking, based on contradiction or Kinship. There is no culture privileged by rationalisation, while other cultures are only pragmatic. Reason is not the monopoly of the white race in the center, but also exists in all nations, black or yellow, in the periphery.

Reason is the realm of evidence and clarity. Any mystery can be elucidated and clarified. Reason can decipher, interpret and desymbolize in order to conceive the universal meaning. Reason is the pre-requisite of legal actions. Neither children nor the mentally retarded are legally responsible. Reason is the basis of the scripture and comes before it. Reason can bring clarity to the obscure, precision to the ambiguity, univocity to the equivocal.

This Reason made Islam a religion without borders, with open frontiers to ancient cultures. Greek, Hindu and Roman. Aristotle is called the wise, Galien the best of all ancients and moderns. Aristotle appeared in the dream of al Ma'moun. The Prophet mentioned him as one of his faithful followers! Some idioms of Aristotle were considered as Hadith of the prophet. Many sayings of Persian, Hindu and Chinese wisdom were Arabised and became a part of Islamic Wisdom.

In China, knowledge was science and technique, applied knowledge giving the original link between theory and practice. Knowing this spirit, Arabs even invented "prophetic sayings" about the search for knowledge (Ilm) in China. The Marxist priority of Praxis over Logos is already in the Chinese character and is reaffirmed by Islam, sharing the same trend.

The companions of the prophets, going to China, carried with them the knowledge of Medicine, Pharmacology, Mathematics and Astronomy. Ibn Sina was a genious in science. After several missions from China to Al-Azhar, Islamic Knowledge began to have a prominent role in China, as it appeared in books, translations, revues and institutions. Ibn Al-Muqfa' describes the Chinese as people of furniture and technique, without Thought or Thinking. Islam gave them what they lacked.

4- Islam is a religion of Nature. Revelation, Reason and Nature are from the same order. Nothing in Nature goes beyond reason. Nature follows its own laws, determined, permanent and uniform. Miracles, as breakthroughs in natural laws, existed before the accomplishment of revelation in Islam, to convince the Jews of the Omnipotence of God. After Islam, convincing became a matter of reasoning. Nature is full of signs which signify the wisdom behind it. Mother Nature is good and innocent. There is no innate evil in it due to an original sin inherited from the first man and enduring until the end of time. Rather, on the basis of his primitive innocence, man acquires his own actions.

Human nature and physical nature share the same image of fertility: clay, water, seeds, vegetation, trees, branches, and fruits. Human and natural life are a cycle from life to death to life again. It is the realm of creativity, movement, dynamism, joy and struggle.

In classical philosophy. logic precedes Physics and Physics precedes Metaphysics. Reason induces to Nature and nature leads to Super-Nature. In theology, Nature is full of signs of the existence of God. The sign (Ayah) can be natural or linguistic. Nature is an open book, like the Qur’an is an open Nature.

Because of this Naturalism, Islam became identical to the endogenous in Africa and Asia. Islamization is equal to Africanization as well as Asianization. Islam being a religion of Nature, became equal to endogenization. In case of China, Chinese perception of Nature, perceived by the senses and expressed in Art, stayed Chinese. The Qur'anic view of Art as imageries was kin to Arab Aesthetics. Shadow theater may have came from China to Arabia.

Chinese character is more oriented towards practice, manual professions and talent. The Chinese are more clever than thoughtful, more natural than supernatural. They do not believe in the Unseen, the Invisible and the Abstract. Reasoning does not require logic or forms of syllogism, but direct contact with reality and intersubjective dialogue, a direct perception of beauty and utility in nature. God outside the world, eschatology, prophecy, all are beyond the Chinese perception. Chinese masters are wise not holy, human not Divine. That is why Christianity did not survive in China, nor Judaism introduce itself as a belief or ethical system. Jews were only a minority of traders, interested in money not God. On this basis of naturalism, Islam became a religion without borders, Nature being the substratum in all human beings, the link between nations and tribes. All human beings share the same reality even though they may differ in perception.

5- Islam is a religion of man, of freedom and individual responsibility. Man is the intermediary world between Physics and Metaphysics. He is in Physics because of his body and in metaphysics because of his soul. Man is the only body who assumes a free task, realising the Ideal in the Real, carrying the message of

truth and fulfiling an ethical vocation. He is a free being, proving his existence as an individual by his freedom. In Western Philosophy "I think, then I am," while in Islam "I am free, then I am".

Man can save himself by himself. He does not need a saviour. He can redeem himself by himself. He does not need a redeemer. Man is free to exist, to behave and to choose. No body sins for him or saves him. Man is an autonomous being, self- determined and self-creative. He is created on the image of God, as man conceived God according to this image.

This feature also made Islam a religion without borders, since individual responsibility is a part of human existence. The responsibility of God or of Nature cannot generate a sociopolitical movement. God and Nature are not direct agents in the historical process.

In the case of China, Chinese religions before Islam, Confucianisim and Buddhism, were also based on man, human and social relations to Earth, moving from a pluralistic view of God to a unitarian view of man. Islam is not that different from Confucianism, in spite of some differences in rituals. Buddhism is an ethical worldview based on self-affirmation and world negation. Among Chinese Muslims, there is an acute sensitivity against illegal Islamic practices, accompanied by a literal piety for Islamic prohibitive Laws: Pork, congealed blood, and corpses. Chinese politeness complemented Islamic good behaviour. Ethics is the basis of metaphysics. The smile of the Chinese is almost an Islamic dictum of greeting the other and smiling for him.

Muslims intermarried with Chinese, given the equality of all nations and tribes in Islam. The essence of humanity does not come

from blood but from piety and good deed. Islam was able to end Chinese isolationism, conceiving every non-Chinese as a foreigner and conceiving himself as the centre of the world. With the transformation from the desire to be buried in his home, as well as from the need to have with him during his travel something capable of carrying his soul if he dies on the way back to his homeland, Islam made from the particular Chinese a universal man. Man and Nature are two poles in the visible world of the Chinese. His prayers aim at goodness on this earth. In a natural Pantheism, the identity between man and Nature is itself Divinity.

6- Islam is a social religion, based on the absolute equality in rights and duties, between all members of the community. Social solidarity, making society one, is similar to Divine unity. Islamic economics incorporate this social feature of Islam. In ownership, God owns everything and inherits all that exists on Earth and in the Heavens. Man is only the depository. He has the right to use, to invest and to spend, not the right to misuse, to exploit or to monopolise. The Imam has the right to confiscate and to nationalize any exploitive means of production doing harm to the public interest. Labour is the source of value. That is why usury is prohibited. Money does not generate money except through work and production.

Islamic society is almost a society without classes. Poverty is a collective responsibility. A society with only the poor is outside the mercy of God. Zakat is not the maximum, not a sign or an indicator that wealth cannot be accumulated in the upper class. Wealth has to circulate. The Islamic value-system, such as austerity, aims at a productive, not a consumer, society. All sectors

which touch the public interest are in the hand of the state, such as agriculture (water), industry (fire) and mineral (salt). This type of socialist economy is supported by a democratic regime in which the political power is freely elected by the people, represented by the intellectual and knowledgeable elite. The legislative power is independent from the political power. The law is also Divine, a positive law, based on the general public interest and human values; Life, Reason, objective Truth, Honour and Wealth.

That is why Islam expanded in societies, causing social revolutions. Islam is easily adopted by the poor, the oppressed and the wretched of the Earth in Africa and Asia. In the case of China. Islamic Law based on Kinship fitted Chinese religions, particularly Confucianism, which was based on the relation between the individual, his family (brother, son, father), his social group (friend), and his global society (citizen).

Muslims in China were clever in serving the state. Abu Shawki was elected the head of the commercial and maritime division for thirty years. Huge mosques were built. Omar Shams Al-Din, "the honourable master," was a model of a statesman, building mosques and temples, without distinction among Islam, Confucianism and Buddhism. Ibn Battuta narrates how Muslims lived in almost a commune, sharing wealth in an egalitarian society. The Islamic state does not mean necessarily a Muslim state. It can be a Chinese one where Muslims play a great role. The rule of law is an Islamic perception which encounters a similar basis in Chinese civil religions.

7- Islam is a step in a historical process, with the birth of man as an Actor in history. Prophecy contributed to the development of human consciousness, towards freedom and autonomy. Human consciousness was born in history as cosmic consciousness, bound to cosmic powers. Consciousness was liberated from cosmic powers after the discovery of causality and natural laws, accompanied by the use of Reason. The absolute obedience to political power, the King or the Pharaoh, is substituted for obedience to cosmic powers. Prophecy in both steps contributed to the liberation of human consciousness from domination and human dictatorship.

Islam is the accomplishment of such progress, the declaration of the autonomy of Reason and of will. Progress can be carried on independently by man. Reason creates knowledge, and science and free will create civilization. That is why, when Islam expands in a society, a huge socio-political transformation occurs, bringing this society from one historical phase to another, from one model to another, as in Arabia, North Africa, Persia, India, Central and South East Asia.

Islam participated in most social revolutions of Muslim areas against social injustice and political dictatorship. In the case of China, “the 1ong march" is only the last one. Muslim cantons enjoyed their autonomy, such as Nirgheshia. They have always revolted against unjust rulers and requested religious freedom, as with the revolt of 1648 against the Manshu family. During one hundred years, 1758-1873, five Muslim revolutions erupted mostly in Sin king. Muslims and nationalists were in the same bunker against social injustice and political oppression. They participated in

the long march on the terms of religious freedom, respect for human rights, and equality between all nations. Islam is a revolutionary tradition. Islam is for peasant revolt against landlords, for agrarian reform and for the distribution of land to the peasants. Muslims also participated in the Chinese struggle against the Japanese occupation. However, the Chinese cultural revolution stressed Chinese particularism, contrary to the cultural universalism of Islam.

Islam without borders means Islam without geographical borders. The Ummah is the borders of Islam, defined by the Tawhid, reflecting freedom of belief and freedom of society. The borders of Islam are the Islamic belief system, the carrier of the Islamic value-system, the Universal code of Ethics. Monotheism in theory and in practice is the borders of Islam, internal borders in which all human beings are linked with piety and good deed.

ISLAM IN SOUTH AFRICA

FUTURE STRATEGIES AND MEANS OF IMPLEMENTATION

I. Islam in South Africa at a Turning Point

Islam in South Africa was almost unknown to the rest of the Arab and Muslim world because of the seclusion imposed on Muslims by Apartheid. The fight of the Arab and Muslim world against Apartheid prevented it from giving special attention to Muslims in South Africa, more or less victims of Apartheid. Early students in the twenties and thirties, sent from South Africa to study in Egypt, went from one British domain to another, like Gandhi going from India to South Africa.

When the South African National party took power in 1948, making Apartheid a national ideology, the year of the partition of Palestine and of India, Muslims were obliged, according to Apartheid policies to identify themselves with their ethnicities, as Malaysians and Indians, and only secondarily as Muslims. They accepted the status of coloured and preserved their ethnic and religious identity.

However, in the post Apartheid era, ghetto Islam cannot be maintained. Islam has to come into the open. A secluded Islam in a changing South Africa may be seen alien, a state within a state, to be gotten rid of in the event of extremist black nationalism, providing justification of purification of the nation from all settlers,

(*) A report written to a Muslim intellectual in South Africa, after a mission as a visiting scholar at the University of Cape-Town (July-August, 1993).

be they European, Asian or Arab. Muslim Indians, especially in Durban, accumulated wealth in the midst of poverty. The coloured formed a middle class between the white minority and the black majority, taking advantage of the minority and the majority alike. They did not participate in the national struggle enough to be visible on the national scene, with few exceptions like Sheikh Yusuf, Turan Guru and Imam Haroun.

II . Future Strategies

Therefore it is time for a smooth and gradual change from in-doors to out-doors, from ethnic Islam to Islam without boundaries. A complete strategy for this future transformation may be seen in the following guidelines:

1- A complete awareness of the historical moment in South Africa is to be highly maintained. Islam cannot stay in the backdoors and in the back-lands of Muslim districts while the whole country is changing the spirit of the Ijtihad, the principle of movement in Islam, has to be implemented. There is much to be done and expected from the Muslims on the national scene, with their agenda of national transformation.

2- Since the preservation of identity has been carefully maintained, the interaction with the world has to follow. The preservation of the self becomes empty and void if it is not followed by the dialogue with the other. Islam, throughout its history, was in constant dialogue with the other, inside with Jews, Christians, Jahiliya, and outside with Greece, Persia and India. Staying with one's self is a false security. Dealing with others is a sign of confidence.

3- If a Muslim in South Africa is asked the question: “who are you?” and answers "I am a Muslim," is his answer correct? He gave his religious and cultural identity, not his political and national identity. He is not only a Muslim but a citizen. He is not even a Muslim from South Africa but a South African Muslim. Citizenship comes before religion. Citizenship is the common denominator among all South Africans, including Muslims, Islam, Judaism, Christianity and African religions. They are multiple and diversified cultures within one county.

4- Islam is not only a religion but also an ideology, a blueprint for a socio-political change within any particular society. What can Islam offer South Africa? An Islamic party for a future Islamic state is out of context. It is political separatism and a wishful thought. An Islamic state is one which implements an Islamic value-System: Freedom, equality, social justice and progress, not one ruled by religious leadership or implementing a penal code. Leadership is freely elected by the people, not theocratic. The penal code comes last, not first, after having given Muslims their rights for work, education, health, public services, and before requiring their duties.

5- Islam is not a closed belief-system, but the implementation of a norm of behavior as a universal code of ethics. The Belief-System in Islam is a value-system condensed in Tawhid, the unity of human character, against caste-systems and social classes; the unity of the whole Umma against ethnicities, rivalries and aggression; the unity of mankind in purpose and ultimate goal. Therefore, the challenge is how to integrate Islam as one of the components of National culture and national character in South Africa.

6- Since Islam is not a ritualistic religion, rituals in Islam are means to other ends: Shahada as a declaration of freedom, prayer as leading the way to piety, alms as a sign towards social justice, fasting as the road to social solidarity, and pilgrimage as the symbol of unity in diversity. Likewise, then, can Islam be a means to solve major social problems in South Africa: unemployment, housing, illiteracy, health, drugs abuse, poverty?

7- Sectarianism is partisanship, leading to separatism and against the spirit of unity in Islam. A Mathhab is a form of imitation, an alienation of identity, a dogmatic, closed and legalized cast-systern. Islam unifies, not separates, opens not closes. As part of a huge processes of transformation towards national unity and reconciliation, how far can Islam contribute as a religion in order to participate effectively in healing the wounds and putting an end to violence?

8- An Islam that governs the whole life with imperatives or a legal nature destroys the essence of Islam as a religion of nature and denies its primitive innocence. Human deeds are natural deeds. Even the proscriptions are from nature, not by prohibition of repugnant deeds. Muslim participation in political life in South Africa is an expression of their duties and responsibilities as Muslims and citizens. Every Muslim, as a citizen, has to vote for the socio-political blueprint embedding Islamic value systems, freedom and social justice by his free judgement and his own moral consciousness.

9- Muslims in South Africa do not live as believers amidst unbelievers, but they are living in their country as citizens equal to their fellow-citizens. Islam is their culture, Judaism, Christianity, and African indigenous religions are the cultures of others. They

cannot impose their law on the majority. Even in classical Fiqh, Jews, Christians, Sabeens, Magians, and Brahmans were communities within the Umma, with equal rights and duties.

10- The challenge confronting the Muslims in South Africa is how to present family law, to be ratified constitutionally in addressing polygamy, divorce, inheritance, witness, and adoption. Laws in Islam need to be reviewed according to the new circumstances of modern times. Shari'a is permanent, while Fiqh changes. The spirit of the Shari'a, concerning the equality between male and female rights and duties, requires a review of the old Fiqh and proposing a new Fiqh fitting the historical circumstances in South Africa.

11- Islam cannot put the Muslims in seclusion, as a sect or an ethnic or religious group. Islam is a value-system, a universal code of ethics, which may exist within the Muslim community or without. Since Muslims are half a million, living among twenty five million Africans and another five million Europeans, this requires outstretching arms towards both groups. Muslims are linked with both communities by the same value system and universal code of ethics providing for freedom, equality and justice.

12- Therefore, it is the responsibility of the Muslims to be the link between different communities and cultures in South Africa between Africa where they live and Asia from where they originally came; between South Africa given its high standard of development and the rest of African states which needs more aid and help; between South Africa and the Arab Muslim world to which they are religiously and culturally attached.

III. Means of Implementation

The previous guidelines for future strategies may be implemented by the following means:

1- The formation of a think-tank in Cape Town to link all centres of intellectual creativity, disparate writers, intellectuals, professors and leaders, who would help in formulating Islam as a socio-political blueprint in a changing world. In this way, outstanding teamwork would always foresee major issues in order that Islam may not be taken by surprise.

2- Departments of Religions and Arabic studies in outstanding universities are the pivots of Islamic learning in South Africa. Islam is a world religion, a political ideology and a huge geographic and historical field of research. Forming new Muslim intellectuals and scholars, provided by methodology and tools of research, would help create a whole academic community, linking universities with communities.

3- In the long run, Muslims in South Africa need their own independent university, to produce their own religious scholars locally, linking Islam to social and human sciences and to the history of South Africa, instead of sending them abroad to Indian, Pakistani, Saudi or Egyptian traditional universities.

Scholars educated abroad mostly carry the cultures, the customs and the manners of the countries where they studied, bringing them to South Africa at the loss of local culture.

4- At the same time, students also have to be sent abroad, to more open universities, to acquire methodology and the spirit of research: test of working hypothesis, verification, and demonstration. Traditional universities and colleges add nothing to Islam in South Africa. What Muslims in South Africa need is not only Arabic lan-

guage and scriptural sciences, recitation and memorization of the Qur'an, Hadith and Fiqh, but a high degree of rationalization, demonstration, socio-political analysis of South African reality, and statistics, which are not taught in traditional Islamic colleges.

5- Calling upon leading Muslim intellectuals as visiting scholars in the universities and the Islamic colleges in south Africa will expose Muslims here to major trends in the Arab and Muslim world. Intellectual zeal and exposure can help get rid of “ghetto Islam.”

6- The formation of young scholar-Imams would help the Imams to modernize themselves, to master modern tools of resea-rch, in order to speak to their communities in a more sound way, tackling issues which interest them in a rational and scientific way. An Imam alone, formed outside the university, will be always surpassed by his own community, more educated than him about existing knowledge available in the mass-media.

7- Meanwhile, training seminars for the actual Imams to refresh their minds and renew their knowledge about modern issues, discussed on the national and international level, may be established by leading university scholars. Strategies now are the project of leading research centers, providing the decision-makers with the maximum information and preparing them for expected scenarios.

8- The establishment of a publishing house to publish a series of publications and pamphlets concerning Islam and the modern world, for people's education, would help in facilitating the acquisition of reading materials. Disparate articles here and there can be printed and made available to the community for discussion and even for Friday sermons.

9- The administration of the mosques in a democratic way, with the participation of the congregation in constraint and mutual

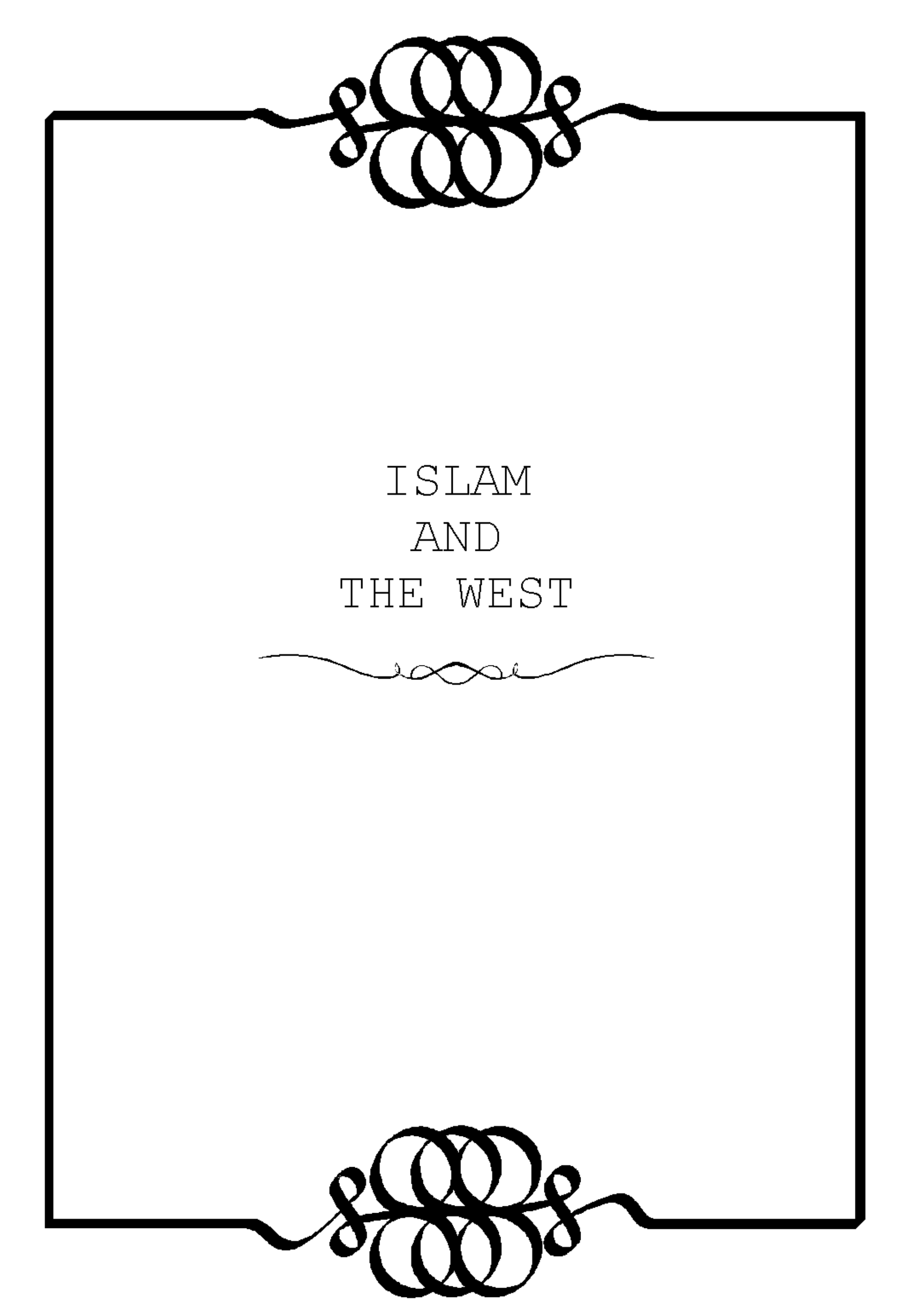
consultation with the Imam, can help activating the mosques. A bank statement and an annual report on the activity of the mosque has to be discussed in an annual public meeting or general assembly of the whole congregation. This prevents the Imam from assuming absolute power in making decisions and affirms the rights of the congregation to supervise and check and to put an end to authoritarianism.

10- An inner-Muslim dialogue among all Muslim movements and organizations has to be implemented instead of rivalry, dissent and silent or open confrontations. Diversification in the approach of Islam is common and even salutary, but divergencies and mutual exclusions are against the spirit of unity. No one owns the truth or monopolizes it. Every one makes his own Iijtihad. He is rewarded twice if he/she is right, once if he/she is wrong.

11- Art and literature are important components in Islamic creativity. Even if Muslims in social and human sciences are still behind, at least, their artistic and literary works can be encouraged and enhanced. The Qur'an used the aesthetic dimension to persuade and convince. A Nobel prize for a Jewish writer is a declared or undeclared enhancement of Judaism. Why not a Muslim?

12- Moral courage is required as a new departure for internal reconciliation and common cause. Double talk, double personality and double behavior are contrary to the implementation of unity in practice. The tongue, the heart, the mind, and the action of the Muslim in general, and the intellectual in particular, are all one discourse. The unity of the individual is the pre-requisite of the unity of the community.

A gradual implementation of these strategies and means are hoped for. The world is changing, and the Muslims cannot stay behind.



ISLAM AND THE WEST

FROM ORIENTALISM TO OCCIDENTALISM

Orientalism as a field of research emerged in the West in modern times, since the renaissance. It appeared during the second cycle of the history of the West, after the classical period and the Patristics, the Medieval time and the Scholastics. It reached its peak in the 19^{th} century, and paralleled the development of other Western schools of thought such as rationalism, historicism, and structuralism.

Orientalism has been the Victim of historicism from its formation, via meticulous and microscopic analysis, indifferent to meaning and significance. Orientalism expresses the searching subject more than it describes the object of research. It reveals Western mentality more than intuiting Oriental Soul. It is motivated by the anguish of gathering the maximum of useful information about countries, peoples and cultures of the Orient. The West, in its expansion outside its geographic borders, tried to understand better in order to dominate better. Knowledge is power. Classical Orientalism belongs for the most part to similar aspects of colonial culture in the West such as Imperialism, Racism, Nazism, Fascism a package of hegemonic Ideologies and European Supremacy. It is a Western activity, an expression of Western Elan Vital, determining the power relationship between the Self and the Other; between the West and the Non West; between Europe from one side and Asia, Africa and Latin America, from the other side; between the New Word and the classical world; between modern times and ancient times.

(*) International Conference. The Self and the Other. Depart-ment of English Language and Literature, Cairo University, December 1993.

This brutal judgement, without nuances, is undoubtedly a severe and painful one, but a real one on the level of historical unconsciousness of peoples, on the level of images even if it is inaccurate enough on the level of concepts. On the contrary, Occidentalism is a discipline constituted in Third World countries in order to complete the process of decolonization. Military, economic and political decolonization would be incomplete without scientific and cultural decolonization. Insofar as colonized countries before or after liberation are objects of study, decolonization will be incomplete. Decolonization will not be completed until the liberation of the object to become subject and the transformation of the observed to an observer. The object of study in Orientalism. becomes the studying subject in Occidentalism, and the studying subject in Orientalism becomes an object of study in Occidentalism. There is no eternal studying subject and no eternal object of study. It depends on the power relationship between peoples and cultures. Roles change throughout history. Peoples in the Ancient World, China, India , Persia, Babylonia, Egypt, were studying subjects. Peoples and Islamic classical cultures were previously studying subjects and Europeans at the time were objects of study. The role changed in modern times when Europeans became the studying subject and the Muslim world became an object of study. The end of Orientalism and the beginning of Occidentalism means exchanging roles for a third time in the subject object relationship between the Self and the Other. The West ceases to be subject and becomes object, and the Orient ceases to be object and becomes subject. Subjective Idealism switches from Western colonial modem times to Third World

post-colonial new times. Cogito ergo Sum, which declared the West as a knowing subject, becomes in the third world studio ergo summ.

Occidentalism is a counter-field of research which can be developed in the Orient in order to study the West from a non-Western World point of view. The Other in the self is always an image. An image is always a caricature which helps in shooting at the target. Orientalism drew many images for the Orient. These included Blacks, Yellows, Oriental Despotism, primitive mentality, savage thought, Semite mind, Arab mind, Violence, fanaticism, underdevelopment, dependence, sectarianism , traditionalism and conservatism. Once the Other is caricatured, it is easy to deal with him, justifying any action of the Self. The image made the Other a target the Self shoots at. Besides, the Self promotes self-made image to sharpen itself, such as: whites, Western, democracy, logical mentality, civilization, Arianism, peace, tolerance, development and even over development, independence, secularism, modernism, progress. By the power of mass media and its control by the West, the perpetuation and the repetition of this double image was made by the self to disarm the Other and to arm the Self, to create a permanent relation of superiority-inferiority complex between the Occident and the Orient, and a relationship of inferiority-superiority complex between the Orient and the Occident.

If Orientalism was the creation of the center, occidentalism is the creation of the periphery. The center was also privileged in history of sciences, arts and cultures, while the periphery, was marginalized. The center creates and the periphery consumes, the center sees and conceptualizes. The center is the master and in the

periphery lays the disciple. The center is the trainer and the periphery is the trainee. Occidentalism, as a new science, can exchange this type of relationship, with the fixed roles played by the two, for reverse relationships and roles.

Orientalism is born in an ethno-racist culture. It expresses Euro-centerism, based on historical pride and organic superiority. This pits White against Black, knowledge against ignorance, logic against contradiction, reason against magic, rationalization against ethico-religious practice, dignity and human rights against dignity and rights of God or of the king, democracy versus despotism or in short, Life against death, Being against nothingness. Occidentalism corrects this type of relationship between the West as Self and the Orient as Other to the Orient as self and the West as Other. The relation between the self and the Other, either way, can be an equal relation, not a high-low relation, an even and sane inter-subjective relation instead of a superiority-inferiority complex. Constructive Occidentalism is the substitute for destructive Orientalism.

The history of the world was written as if the West was the very center of the Universe and the end of history. History of ancient civilizations was reduced to the minimum. History of modern times in the West is blown up to the maximum. Three thousand years of the Orient are summarized in one chapter, while five hundred years of history of the modern West is expounded in several chapters. Orientalism was the victim of Western philosophies of history, which conceived Europe as the peak of all civilizations, the fruits in modern times after planting the seeds in ancient times, the accomplishment of a theological development,

the perfection of things after the abrogation of all previous imperfections, the unique Christ after the prophets of Israel, repeated in history. Occidentalism aims at evening the balance of World historiography against this historical injustice in history of world civilization.

Neutrality and objectivity were claimed to be the conditions of Western science. However, Orientalism is neither neutral nor objective. It is an oriented and committed discipline, expressing the inclinations and the profound motivation in European consciousness. It reveals the passions of the subject, more than it describes the neutral object. It substitutes for the independent object the mental image of the subject. Neutrality and Objectivity appear to be a cover-up for partiality and subjectivism. Occidentalism is just the opposite . It is not motivated by rancor or the desire to dominate. It does not consciously or unconsciously deform the object by stereotyped images, or make value-judgements on it. It tries to be a vigourous science by its object, method and purpose. The desire to liberate one's self from the yoke of the image imposed on him by the Other is a creative power, unveiling the truth of power relationships between the subject and the object in Orientalism, controlling the Other by the image, or in Occidentalism, liberating one's self from the image imposed on him by the other. Occidentalism may produce counter-images for the Other, with its desire to dominate, and for the self, with a self-producing image of endogenous creativity, as a desire for self-liberation.

The object of Occidentalism is to counterbalance Westernization tendencies in the Third World. The West became a model of

modernization outside itself, in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Western Life style became very common in Non-Western countries, especially in the ruling classes. The imitation of the West became almost a national behavior. These Westernization tendencies have generated anti-Western attitudes as they appear in religious conservatism and fundamentalism. Occidentalism is partly a defense of national character, national culture and national life-style against alienation and disloyalty; a popular option against Orientalism as a minority option; a mass culture against Orientalism as an elite culture; an ideology for the ruled against Orientalism as an ideology of the ruler; a liberating device like liberation theology against Orientalism as a dominating device, like church dogmatics.

National culture everywhere in the Third World is split between two antagonistic tendencies. Each is presenting itself as the true representative of the people, the first in the name of modernity, the second in the name of Tradition. In the case of the Arab World, the West is a model of modernization in the three major trends in modern Arabic Thought: Religious Reform founded by Al-Afghani, Secular Scientism initiated by Shebly Shmayyel, and political Liberalism conceived by Al-Tahtawi. In these three trends, the West is a model of knowledge, that is of power, industry, urbanism, democracy, multi-party system, constitution, freedom of press, human rights. This is the image of Europe during the enlightenment. The difference between the three trends is of degree, not of nature. Once national passion calms down, Westernization appears as loyalty to the West and a life style for the ruling class. Cultural dependence on the West generates a gradual loss of national independence. Occidentalism as a science

gives the priority to the endogenous over the exogenous, to the interior over the exterior, to the Self over the Other, to antonomy over heteronomy.

Occidentalism as a cultural movement aims at transforming developing societies from transfer of knowledge to cultural creativity. Since the National liberation era, the construction of the Nation State is based on modern sciences coming from the West. The role of intellectuals and even of scientists was to transfer science, art, and literature from the Western to the non-Western World. The West produces and the non- Western World consumes. The West creates and the non-Western World transmits. National cultures became conveyers of foreign systems and ideologies. The Culture of the center radiates on the peripheries. The center profuses and the peripheries diffuse. Occidentalism can help the Third World in sharing the creation, not just the diffusion, of a common cultural homeland for all humanity. Science emerges from reality, not from pre-formulated texts in the ancient tradition or in the modern West. Conceptualization is not the monopoly of European consciousness. It is a human effort, accessible to every human consciousness. The long and painful work of creativity is preferable to the laziness of consumption and imitation, to the transfer to one's self of concepts formulated elsewhere. Peoples in the Third World can then reach the age of maturity and get rid of Western cultural tutorship.

The scientific data of this new science, Occidentalism, can be drawn from two sources: First, the criticism of European culture by Third World intellectuals, based on simple intuitions and existential

reactions or on scientific analysis and demonstrative arguments. Before and after national liberation, national intellectuals in Africa, Asia and Latin America tried to liberate their national cultures from the hegemony and supremacy of Western culture. The critic of the Other and the perception of his limits is the pre-requisite of self-liberation from the control of the Other. The mentality, the history and the culture of the Other are distinct from the soul, the history and the culture of the Self. Indiginismo, Liberation Theology in Latin America, Conscientism and Negritude in Africa, base and democratic movements in Asia. All are examples of national creativity.

The second source of critique of European Consciousness is made inside the West by the Europeans themselves, their thinkers and philosophers. Rousseau criticizes arts, sciences, literature and their negative influence on individual and social ethics. Spengler declares the "Decline of the West." Max Scheler speaks of the reversal of values. Nietzsche evokes general nihilism and announces the death of God. Husserl and Bergson deplore the loss of life, "Erlebnis," "vecu" in European Consciousness, which became bankrupt for Husserl, and machines creating gods for Bergson. Nietzsche declares "God is dead", Derridea and the post-modernists declare "Man is dead," and Barthes even declares "The Author is dead!"

This double testimony, external and internal, constitutes the already-existing data of Occidentalism as science.

Besides, there is also primary data, the works produced by European consciousness itself as symptoms of European

Lebenswelt, the barometer of Being and Nothingness, of life and death of cultures and civilizations. This raw material consists of major Philosophical Works during the historical course of European consciousness. Philosophy is a whole Worldview including art and science. It is the mirror which reflects the development and the structure of European Consciousness. The object of Occidentalism is European Consciousness itself, as the soul of' Europe, the condition of its renaissance or decline, life and death. The concept is not an abstraction, a hypothesis or a moral one but it refers to "une prise de conscience," Besinnung. a self consciousness, a subjectivity, the basis of objectivity studied by most philosophers of history: Scheler, Spengler, Bergson, Husserl, Ortega, Toynbee, Hazard. European consciousness has its sources, its beginning and end. It has a structure coming out of its development. Its future is debated at this turning point from the 20th to the 21st century.

European Consciousness has three sources: Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian and the European milieu itself: mentality, temperament, popular culture, customs, traditions. The Roman source took over the Greek one, given the Romanist intensive of Imperial Rome, which was reiterated in modern European colonialism. The Jewish source took over the Christian one, with Paul and the Judaisation of Christianity. The European milieu, which was close to Romanism and Judaism than to Hellenism and Christianity, took over two other sources. Realism triumphed over Idealism. Materialism dominated over Spiritualism and Satan overwhelmed God. The first two sources, Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman, changed models from Plato during the

Patristic period to Aristotle during Scholasticism; from Idealism to Realism; from mind to matter. The European milieu is the material substratum for Judaism, Romanism and Aristotelianism. Thus the carrier and the carried are of the same kind.

European consciousness began in modern times, with the Cartesion Cogito, "Cogito ergo Sum." The subject has an absolute priority over the object. The Word is a perceived world. Subjective idealism was the point of departure. Regarding ethics, temporary ethics were proposed, unsubjected to reason. The will is much wider than reason. Theoretical Truth is guaranteed by Divine veracity. From this subjectivism, two apparent opposite trends emerged: Rationalism and Empiricism. Both are subjectivist, the first as an idea, a proiori or deduction; the second as impression, sensation, a posteriori and induction. The first trend begins from the subject upwards, while the second begins from the subject downwards. European consciousness became like an open mouth. This is the famous Western Dualism which European modern philosophy began with and suffered from. The Transcendental Idealism of Kant tried to unify the two trends as form and matter, category and intuition, a priori and a posteriori, induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, metaphysics and physics, philosophy and science. In this famous problematique: how an a priori synthetic judgment is possible? organic unity and dialectic movement were absent. The same dualism continued in ethics. Pure reason is incapable of knowing right and wrong. Only practical reason can. Pure reason deals with phenomena, while practical reason deals with noumena. Kant declares that through this dualism, determining the final purpose of Transcendental idealism

and critical philosophy, he had to destroy knowledge in order to make room for belief. Later, when efforts were again made through the absolute Idealism of postkantians, to unify this juxtaposed dualism, it only became triadism, sensation, understanding, and raison; aesthetics, analytics and dialectics, in a dialectical process. Fichte conceived practical Idealism and the subjective dialectic between the Ego and the non-Ego to form the Absolute Ego. Hegel reiterated Fichte, transforming subjective dialectics to objective, and going from logic to Being. Schelling preferred a certain kind of philosophy of Identity between Geist and Natur, to begin with unity as an axiom, not Cartesian duality. Schopenhauer reiterated the same dualism in the World as representation and Will, trying to unify the two in the negative aspect of life. This was already a symptom of the end, in accord with Rousseau's critique of modern civilization. The criticism of the Hegelian left, regarding Hegelian absolute Idealism, is also the beginning of the end. In all efforts to close down the open mouth of European consciousness, the end appeared in three ways: first, with Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Ortega and most existentialists, the critique of Western rationalism became abstraction and formalism, ending in a complete destruction of reason and the affirmation of the irrational, the absurd and the contradictory, in order to bring the upward ascendant line downwards. Second, with Scheler, Weber and all existentialist philosophers, the critique of Empiricism as materialism and naive objectivism, brought the downward descendant line upwards. The two lines meet in the middle in the new Cogito of Husserl and Bergson, in human existence according to all existentialist philosophers, and in life with all philosophers of life, thus putting

the third way between the two opposing trends and thereby closing up the European mouth. The course of European consciousness has its beginnings and endings. It has a point of departure and a point of arrival, from the Cogito of Descartes to the Cogitatum of Husserl. The epopee ends.

Besides, European consciousness has a structure formed during its development. It has a trinitarian structure, expressing itself in a triadic vision which splits the phenomenon into three parts and reduces the whole to one of its parts. The question is whether the phenomenon is formal and can be understood by reason, or material and can be perceived through senses, or lived and can be felt through human experience. The three visions disputed among each other in order to have the monopoly of knowledge. Each vision became unilateral, one-sided and unilinear. European consciousness fell down into the dichotomy of either/or. European consciousness was not satisfied with the two alternatives and ended by neither/nor. The oscillation between all became the only truth. Change took over permanence. European consciousness lost its focus. It shoots outside the point, in all directions except in the center. It goes all the time off to the side in diversion. All alternatives became equally true and untrue, which led to total scepticism, at the very basis of contemporary Nihilism.

The question now is, what is the future of European consciousness? Has it accomplished its historical course in the cycle of World-History? Which world-consciousness will take the lead? If Europe in modem times has inherited historical Cultures of Africa, Asia and Latin America, can Third-World consciousness,

the new energized by the upsurge of these historical societies, take the lead and inherit European consciousness in a new cycle of World-history? Evidence can prove such a historical possibility, given the symptoms of new existence and optimism in Third World consciousness. Most philosophers of history in the West declared the birth of world history in the East and its rebirth and decline in the West. History was accomplished and the final stage was reached in modem times in the German enlightenment (Herder, Lessing, Kant, Hegel), in the French enlightenment (Voltaire, Montesqieu, Turgot), in the Italian enlightenment (Vico), in the Russian enlightenment (The Slavophiles), or in the American Enlightenment (Thomas Paine). Only Condorect left one stage, the tenth, for the future. Rousseau had already declared the beginning of the end, while Hegel declared the accomplishment of history and the close of an European historical cycle. Contemporary European philosophers showed the different manifestations of Nihilism at the final stage of the development of European consciousness, integral Nihilism, the death of God (Nietzsche), renversernent des Valeurs (M. Scheler), Lebeweltverloss (Husserl), Des machines pour créer des Dieux (Bergson), the decline of the West (Spengler), civilization on trial (Toyenbee), l' Occident n'est pas un accident (Garaudy), la crise de la conscience European (Hazard). The same phenomenon appears in human and social sciences, launching the question of crisis in Western sociology. It appears also in the general malaise of daily life, the counter-culture, two World Wars in thirty years, the collapse of the Western project, maximum of production. for maximum of consumption for maximum of happiness, the high rate of suicide, organized crime, violence. The

last hopeful signs of returning back to European classical Liberalism in Germany, Eastern Europe and Russia, the renewal of the capitalist system, the rejuvenation of socialism. All are temporary and ephemeral signs. On the contrary, other real hopeful signs began to appear in Third World consciousness: liberation movements, decolonization, development, mass mobilization, modernization, building-up modern State, endogenous creativity, a new world value-system expressing a new world ethical social and political order in International agencies, a new World consensus against apartheid in South-Africa and Zionism, a new decolonization regime in Palestine. Set-backs are temporary counter-revolutions, dictatorships, militarism, new classes. Westernization, dependence, underdevelopment, violation of human rights. Moral and material Potentialities in the Third World are. Experiences of trial and error are fruitful. Historical traditional experiences of the self from the past and modem European experiences of the other in the present time can be two signposts for a new world consciousness.

Does Occidentalism as a new science sacrifice the unity of world universal culture in favour of national particular culture? In fact, World Culture is a myth created by the Culture of the Center to dominate the periphery in the name of acculturation. It has been created thanks to the mass-media monopolized by the center. There is no One Culture in capital C. There are only multiple cultures, in small cs. Each culture has its own autonomous life, an expression of a people and its history. Cultural interaction throughout history does not mean acculturation, the absorption of small cultures in the periphery by the big Culture of the center, assimilation, imitation,

or modelling. It means an equal exchange, a give and take, a two-way movement on the levels of language, concepts, horizons, methods, and values. Is Occidentalism a politicization of historical sciences? In fact, politicization of science is a common experience, shared among all peoples and cultures in all times. It appeared not only in classical Orientalism, but also in European Sciences, human, social and even natural. It is only when the balance of power changed from Europe to the Third world, from the center to the periphery, that politicization of science became an accusation. The master in the center was the champion of such endeavour. Science is Power. The passage from Orientalism to Occidentalism is in fact a shift in the balance of power.

ISLAMIC RESPONSES TO VALUE CRISIS

I. Introduction

1. Since values are anchored in culture and in history, there are two value system, Western and Non- Western. Each one has its own crisis, different in origin and in orientation from the other.

2. Islamic responses to value-crisis are given for both value-systems since Islam is a universal religion capable of adapting itself according to different material desires and cultural needs.

3. Islam is not a dogmatic or a ritualistic religion. Islam is rather a worldview (Weltanschauung) and a motivation for action. Islam refers not to the religion practiced in history in the Muslim World in the past or in the present . Islam is rather an ideal type in the mind and a human option in the feeling.

4. Islamic responses can be seen not through factual analysis of data, as in surveys, but from "essential description" of living experiences shared by all. Phenomenology would be a fruitful method after putting all facts "between brackets."

5. Islamic responses may not be specific to Islam per se. They may be common to all religions and ideologies. They may express human ideals shared by all. Therefore, Islamic apologetics are excluded. Rational evidence and human experience would be universal and objective criteria.

(*) International Conference, Value Crisis, December 1982. Tsukuba, Japan.

II. Islamic Responses to the Value Crisis in the West

Value crisis in the West can be characterized, in some respects, as follows:

1- Truth as an absolute value became a "disvalue" or a proportional value. There is nothing to be known, or if there is, it cannot be known with certainty. Before modern times, truth was the monopoly of the church, Aristotle or the Arabs. After the renaissance, truth emerged from reason and nature. It became the creation of man and the world. The a priori became an a posteriori. Since humans are cornered in their points or "corners" of view, bound to their interests and social classes' divergent opinions, these conflicting ideas and opposing systems ended the possibility of a universal, independent and objective truth. Relativism, skepticism, agnosticism, doubt and ambiguity, all became synonymous with truth, through modern powerful and influential mass-media, truth became truth-telling; beliefs were forged; ideologies fabricated and opinions artificially made.

An Islamic response to a truth crisis lies in affirming an absolute truth, one which is universal, independent and objective, knowable and realizable. Without falling into dogmatism and fanaticism, it is at the same time Eidos and Ontos, Logos and Praxis. It can be known by rational evidence, scientific experience, human behavior and laws of history.

2- New values discovered in modern times were seen as "material" values, in opposition to spiritual ones, seen as void, limited and fragile. The kingdom of ends was already present in this world, not in the other world, still to come. The soul became body and God

became the Universe. This transformation of value by reversal is due to a primary separation between the spiritual and the temporal, characterized later on as secularism. It was a natural development in Western circumstances, due to the nature of the spiritual givens. Because the spiritual was dominant in the middle ages, the material revolted, liberated itself and dominated in its turn, according to the famous dialectic between master and slave. Therefore, Western modern values do not form a universal structure but rather a historical development, a simple transformation from one value-system to another, following the law of action and reaction.

An Islamic response would be the unity between the ideal and the real, with a well-kept balance between the two poles, without risking dissociation or confusion. Values exist ontologically. The ethical exists really as a norm of action.

3- Out of this "materialism" came the huge Western project, maximum of production for maximum of consumption, for maximum of happiness. Nature was dominated regardless of pollution. Automation was conceived regardless of its effects on human intelligence. The human brain was embodied in a machine. Quality yielded to quantity. Nature has been artificially recreated through the powers of chemistry. Industrialization led to “dehumanisation” of labor. It went well until the energy crisis, which brought the end of cheap raw material from the non-Western world, the loss of several markets, the increase of ways of labor, and inflation. Production diminished, and consumption became a “disvalue” under the attacks of anticonsumption movements. Happiness was illusory. More misery, suicide and mental diseases

occurred. The world appeared not to be a supermarket [(1)]. Youth dissent was a rejection of this foundation of a civilization, looking for another ideal, a vocation on earth, a kingdom of heaven, something to be loyal to.

Thus, mysticism became more significant and Rama Krishna expressed his desire! Science led to magic. The computer age returned again to the seers in the cave.

An Islamic response is to affirm the vocation of Man as the vice-regent of God on Earth . He fulfills the Divine will and His project is to defend justice for those upon whom injustice has been inflicted to defend freedom for the oppressed. Islamic asceticism, that he is in the World but not from this world, is still a viable option. Nature is created as a sign from God, a reminder of his existence [(2)].

4- Since truth was the creation of man, man became the measure of all things. Individualism became egoism Protagoras became the model, not Socrates. Truth changes from man to man, according to skin color, to class structure, to nationhood, to religion and even to sect. The WASPs are at the top of the social pyramid. Blacks, Chicanos and Arabs, and all the colored, are at the bottom[(3)]. Relativism on the level of nature and on the level of man, both scientific and behavioral relativism, led to a value crisis regarding individual and social ethics. Since consciousness is a material

(1) This was the image Mohammed Iqbal made for the West.

(2) Hassan Hanafi. "Human Subservience to Nature: An Islamic Model," in Natural Resources in a Cultural Perspective, The Committee for Future Oriented Research, Swedish Council for Planning and Co-ordination of Research, stockholm, 1985.

(3) WASP is a famous abbreviation of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

phenomenon, an absent consciousness is not worse than an awakened one. Drugs are used by youth, women are disqualified as equals to men, in payment and in jobs. Family as a nuclear cell is dissolving.

An Islamic response is to see man as the image of God, universal like Him. His essence comes not from his needs, desires and passions, but from his vocation, his affiliation to principle, his effort to realize the ideal on Earth. Man is one as God is one. The unity of man comes from the unity of God. Man's value is in his good deed, regardless of his skin color, his ancestors or his social class. The family would continue as a germinal cell for the whole society, a microcosm for a macrocosm.

5- Western enlightenment could have been a real saviour. In it, Western value-consciousness reached its peak namely in reason, nature, freedom, man, equality, justice, and progress. It was capable of generating both the French and the American revolutions. A universal Republic was conceived by Napoleon for the all nations, prior to the United Nations. However, the Enlightenment had its limits. The Modern value-system (17^{th} and 18^{th} centuries) was able to solve the crisis of the medieval one, but its limits led to another crisis in the contemporary value-system (19^{th} and 20^{th} centuries). Universal values were bound to nations, la Nation Francaise, or the Deutsches Volk. Nationalism was a limitation on internationalism. The soul itself lost its powers of Transcendence. It could never go beyond the skin color of the body, the history of a nation, or the Geist of a culture. There was a failure of nerve which lead to the abortion of the enlightenment.

An Islamic response is to make a breakthrough, to escape from the Immanence to the Transcendence, from the skin to the

mind, from closed nationalism to open internationalism. Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité are for all. A principle cannot be broken on the borders of a nation or of a continent.

6- Western “internationalism” is undoubtedly one aspect of value crisis in the West, whether between Western nations themselves or between Western nations and the non-Western ones. Western "Internationalism" is indeed Euro-centrism. Since the end of the Ancient world (Greece and Rome), and then modern "Geographic discoveries" in the 15th century, Europe became the center of the universe. It surrounded Africa and Asia from the seas, after it failed to dig into the heart of the land during the Crusades. Such glorious "geographic discoveries" were the beginning of the colonial era. If the new world was unknown to the West and then became known, it was already known by the endogenous people in the non-West! It is a matter of perspective. Who discovered whom? After the expansion of Europe outside its own borders through invasions, the accumulation of wealth began, to industrialize the West at the cost of the non-West. The usurpation of raw materials, of human labor, and even cultures, was behind the rise of Western Capitalism in the 16th and 17th centuries (4). When Europe finished its own social and political revolutions in the 18th century, realized the unity of its nations (Germany, Italy) and rearranged the house from inside, it began another wave of colonialism for marketing. Since the Enlightenment failed in extending its ideals outside European borders, the West turned to hegemony. The domination

(4) Classical analysis of this can be found in Tawney's work with a more modern analysis in Garaudy’s “Pour un Dialogue des Civilizations.”

of the non-Westem world by the West reached its paroxysm. Two world, or more precisely, European wars erupted between Western nations to divide the cake. Each one wanted more lebensraum. National liberation movements began in this century, but they were quickly aborted. National independence was more a pride than a reality. The gap between poor nations and rich nations was widening, in spite of the dialogue between North and South. Problems of war and peace, of nuclear armament and of cold war are the outcome of this "limp internationalism."

An Islamic response is the affirmation of national autonomy for all nations, equal and independent. A mutual aid between equal nations for good and mutual enrichment would be a model of new Internationalism.

III. Islamic Responses To the Value Crisis In The Third-World.

The Value Crisis in the non-Western world, namely The Third World, is of a different type and for different reasons. These worlds live in two different historical phases, the Western world at the end of modern times, the non-Western world at the dawn of its own modern times. The Enlightenment, this glorious movement, in spite of its limits in the West, may have a chance this time, in the Third world, aspiring to a new kind of humanity and to a new era in the history of mankind.

Since the Third World is a developing world, its value crisis would come from any kind of hindrance to this passage from underdevelopment to development in a global sense, such as:

1- From Tradition to Modernism: Since most of the Third World countries are traditional societies, modernization becomes a major national goal. Traditionalism may become a self-defense against the already modernized other and his model of modernization. It becomes an aim in itself, not a means for something else, namely development. Traditionalism in this sense is a “disvalue.” It would be the carrier of magic, superstition, inspiration, prophecy. All are means of knowledge and action contrary to reason and science. Orientations of Predestination, Fatalisim and Absolutism may deny human freedom and responsibility. Theos would be more present than Anthropos. In the very process of development, Tradition finds its natural outcome. On the other hand, a rejection of tradition, for the sake of planted modernism, would also end in complete stagnation and a revival of traditionalism as self-defense. Social change and development cannot be done through discontinuity. Conservatism and Secularism would both express a value crisis, that of the lack of social development through continuity.

2- From Westernization to Endogenous Creativity: Since the Third World is developing in the era of Western hegemony, Westernization has become a "disvalue,” an alienation of the self in the other. The Third World has reached its modern times through the double process of colonialism and liberation through national struggle. After independence, the Third World began to develop, helped by the West, through its norms and knowledge. However, the transfer of knowledge was unilateral, from the West to the Third World, from the Master to the disciple. It has now continued for more than two centuries. The West produces and the Third World

consumes. Since the pace of production is much higher than that of consumption, the gap is widening. The Third World then receives a cultural shock and enters into despair. This eminent value crisis, the crisis of identity, is caused by a strange desire in the Third World to run after the Western model of development, to catch up and to hurry on till it looses its own point of departure. In the zeal of arriving to a conclusion, it forgets its premises. The Third World loses itself. It become alienated. Then erupts the crisis of authenticity (5).

On the political level, the loss of identity appears in alignment, spheres of influence, blocks, and multinational corporations. Everything is pouring in from the West. An Islamic response would be preservation of identity. Transfer of knowledge is only a substitute for the production of knowledge. Islamic culture has shown this passage from the translation of knowledge to the creation of science, from the assimilation of the other to the critique of its culture, and from the exposition of coherent systems to its complete rejection and refutation. The authenticity, creativity and originality of the self reduce the production of the other to its proper size, bringing it back to its natural dimensions, namely geographical borders, in order to save history.

3- From Underdevelopment to Development: In the Third World, underdevelopment is a "disvalue". The crisis of development can be summarized in one expression "human engineering." It means shaping the endogenous through the exogenous. foreign experts are modernizing and developing the

(5) Hassan Hanafi. Traditional and Civilizational Renaissance. SCA, Kuwait October 1980 UNU Project, Socio-cultural Development Alternatives in a Changing World, directed by Anwar Abdel-Malik.

infrastructure of the country, without regard for the mass-culture, habits and local circumstances. In underdeveloped countries, mental super-structure is perhaps more effective in behavior and change than infrastructure. Islam changed the Arabs by changing ideas and doctrines [(6)].

Therefore, an Islamic response to the crisis of development can be given by eliminating the process of acculturation which accompanies "human engineering," and thereby solves all the problems of underdevelopment by endogenous means. For example, the problem of equity and social justice, which requires a redistribution of national wealth according to work, cannot be solved through Western secular ideologies of socialism. Traditional societies are still socialist by nature and culture, “man for all and all for man.” Solidarity and wealth sharing are traditional customs and daily behavior. They are almost belief-imperatives. The problem of increase of production in agriculture or industry can be solved by endogenous elements in mass-culture and belief-systems. God and Land are linked together in Africa and Asia. Working in the Land is being with Divinity. The "black hand” of a worker is much more divine than the “white hand” of a bureaucrat. Blue collars are the handworkers of God, not the white collars. Man produces as God creates. The problem of human rights can never be dealt with through International conferences or commissions sent to the Third World to investigate and to write reports to International bodies, nor even by treaties sent to governments to be signed. Freedom of

(6) Hassan Hanafi. “The Religious Factor and Income Distribution,” in Development and Income Distribution in Egypt, 1952-78. Cairo. 1982.

speech is a natural right, more related to primitive man than the declaration of human rights. The Divine, speaking in man in Africa and Asia, inspiring in him the language of truth, may be more effective than liberalism as Western secular ideology. Finally, the problem of illiteracy and ignorance can be tackled, not only by peace corps, stages of training, building modern schools, and calling for foreign experts. It can be solved through mosques, religious educators, temples, monks and elders. Oral learning in Africa and Asia has been more effective than written. Science and Knowledge are also belief-imperatives. In early Islam, learning was equal to freedom. A learned man can never be owned. Learning was the price of freedom.

4. From Eurocentrism to Third World History: There is a real value crisis in every culture in the Third World, due to the lack of justice in writing the history of mankind. During modern times, Europe became the center of the world and a system of reference. Every other culture was on the periphery. This position created a superiority complex in the West and an inferiority complex in the Third World. The West created for itself the image of an original and unprecedented culture. This was portrayed as the only culture based on reason and science, time in history, man and nature . It is the model of every other culture to imitate and to cope with. All other cultures in the Third World are still expressing the beginnings of history, not its end [7]. Europe was silent about its origins, although it is the product of all other previous human cultures since Ancient China, India, Persia and Egypt.

(7) Hassan Hanafi. Lessing's Education of the Human Race, Cairo, 1977; and Beirut 1980.

Islam recognizes the share of every culture in the formation of human culture. Every nation has its role. God created man in different nations for mutual knowledge and the sharing of learning(8). Now in the United Nations, the voices of the Third World are expressing this part of the forgotten history of man.

IV. Conclusion

In the crisis of value in the West or in the Third World, there is no right and wrong. It is only a matter of the historical phase each society or culture is living in. If Western contemporary philosophers are yelling about the problems of Western culture, declaring its end or decline, philosophers of the Third World are on the contrary announcing the beginning of new phase, a new cycle of Ancient cultures.

If philosophers in the West have already, used terms of decline, decadence, fall, suicide, "reversement," loss, nihilism, negation, neant, nausee. Thinkers in the Third World have used a counter vocabulary of renaissance, upsurgence, reform, uprising, revivalism. The myth of progress in the Western World is simultaneous to the desire for progress in the Third World. Might the world see a future era where its leadership switches from the West to the non-West? Would Western hegemony yield finally to the Eastwind? Can philosophers of history make such prophecy? It is up to Japan to say, to which wind it belongs.

(8) “O Hommes, We have created you male and female, and made you peoples and tribes to know each other. The best of you is the most righteous”. (Qur’an, 49:13).

MARX'S CRITIQUE OF RELIGION

An Islamic Reading

1 - Introduction: Marx and the Young Hegelians Critique of Religion:

Marx's critique of religion is a part of the Young Hegelians' critique of Hegel, going one step further from the pure philosophical (Feuerbach), ideological (Bauer), existential (Stirner), or religious (Strauss), to social and historical critique, switching from critique of ideas to critique of society, from conceptual analysis to social analysis. Feuerbach analyzed religious human experiences to show the alienation of man. Stirner described human existence to show the individual and his properties (Eigenshaft). Strauss criticized Biblical texts to prove the formation of religious myth around the person of Christ and the gradual process of divinization. Bauer criticized the German abstract and inhuman ideology in favor of a more concrete and human one, based on subjectivity, self-consciousness and freedom. Only Marx and Engels switched from ideational and existential critique to social and historical critique.

Marx's critique of religion is a part of young Marx works, as Marx the Young Hegelian, the Hegelian Leftist, the philosopher, the literary critic, the journalist, the writer, the Feuerbachian, the passionate, the intellectual and the human. His major data analysis was the human, individual social and historical experiences of religion.

(*) Paper prepared for a proposed collective book on " Max and Religion", 1989. The editor was expecting the uncompatibitity of Marx and Islam, not the compatibility.

A gradual transition occurred from Hegel to Feuerbach and from Feuerbach to Marx, showing a conceptual transition from Geist to Man, and from man to society. Hegel announced the end of history, while Feuerbach declared the end of German classical philosophy. All Young Hegelians began religious studies to be formed as priests, and afterwards they discovered another vocation, that of critique of ideology and the accomplishments of classical German Idealism. Since religion is linked to nation, national religion emerged parallel to national identity. For Young Hegelians, religious consciousness is linked to popular consciousness. That is why Marx critique of religion is a part of the critique of German national culture, of German popular consciousness, of German political ideology, and of German national consciousness.

Marx did not write a special work on the critique of religion, but he did his critique in almost each work he wrote, especially his early writings as a Young Hegelian. There are even no direct chapters in his works on the critique of religion, but paragraphs or phrases became slogans for Marx critique such as “Religion is the opium of people.” Some longer texts tackle the issue under titles such as “Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right” and “Theses on Feuerbach.” Some passages are long, some others are short [(1)].

(1) We used two editions: the French, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engles: Sur la Religion, Textes, choisis, traduits, et annotés par G. Badia, P. Bange et E. Bottigelli. Editions Sociales, Paris, 1967; and the English, Marx & Engels: On Religion. Introduction by Reinhold Niebuhr. Schocken. New York. 1974 (Pagination is from the French Edition).

Marx critique of religion is similar to Engel's critique. They co-operated in common works (2). It is difficult to separate Marx critique from Engel's critique, except in method. Marx is still more philosophical, closer to Feuerbach, Bauer and Stirner, while Engels is more historical, closer to Renan as critic and to Biblical Criticism. Marx wrote less but with more intellectual sharpness. Engels wrote more, submerged in detailed historical analysis (3). Some of Marx critique of religion is a critical reading of other Works, just as he did later with the classical political economy of

(2)The longest extract is the leading article of no.179 of Kölnische Zeitung (26p.). The shortest is "Critique of Gotha Programme (1p.). For Marx and Engels common work, the longest is "The Holy Family" (10 p.). The smallest is "Manifesto" (3 p.). For Engels' the longest is "Ludwig Feuerhach"(53 p.). The smallest is "Emigrant Literature" (3 p.).

(3) Marx works are: (1) Forward to Thesis: The Difference Between the Natural Philosophy of Democrites and the Natural Philosophy of Epicurus (1841); (2) the leading article of no. 179 of Kolnische Zeitung (1842); (3) Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right (1844); (4) Theses on Feuerbach (1945); (5) The Communism of the Paper Reinischier Beobachter (1847); (6) Anti-Church Movement, Demonstration in Hyde park (1855); (7) Capital: Development of Capitalist Production Vol. 1; (8) Critique of the Gotha Programme (1875).

Marx and Engels works are: (1) The Holy Family, or critique of critique of critical criticisin (1844-48); (4) Review of G. Fr. Daumer's "The Religion of the New Age (1850); (5) Correspondence (1853)

Works of Engels are: (1) The Peasant War in Germany (1850); (2) Emigrant Literature.(1874); (3) Anti-During (1878); (4) Dialectics of Nature (1873-86); (5) Bruno Bauer and Early Christianity (1882); (6) The Book of Revelation (1883); (7) Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy (1886); (8) Justice and Socialism (1887); (9) Letter to Bloch (1890); (10) Letter to Schmidt (1890); (11) Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (1892); (12) On the History of early Christianity (1894-95);

Ricardo and Smith. Therefore, reading Karl Marx requires bringing him back to his reading of other works, a double reading, Marx reading others [(4)]. Most of Marx and Engel's critique of religion comes from Bauer and Feuerbach, criticized in "The Holy Family" as idealists, partisans of the German Ideology.

Critique of religion was common in the time of Marx and before, throughout the reformation of the 15th century, the renaissance in the 16th, rationalism in the 17th, enlightenment in the 18th and atheism in the 19th. Thus it is a non-Marxist critique in which Marx participated at the end. It is very symptomatic of European consciousness vis à vis religion.

Marx critique of religion, especially in his early writings was so passionate, touching and human, similar to romantic literature of the time. Goethe and Schiller were always referred to. Some of Marx statements were written not only with philosophical rigor or historical accuracy, but also in a literary style, especially using diptych, Heavens and Earth, God and man, religion and politics, beyond and below, unauthentic and authentic, alienation and identity, the other and the self, abstract and concrete, general and particular, universal and individual. Irony is used as style of critical expression without further dissertation on the concept of irony as Kierkegaard, Marx contemporary, did. For Feuerbach there is the historical movement, which does not originate from the heart. The heart is not only the form of religion but also its essence. For

(4) Commentaries on Passages of Hume (p.13) of Epicurus (p. 14), Prometheos, Hermes of Hegel (p.41-58); Bauer and Consorts (p.59-68), of Feuerbach (p.69-72), of Daumer (p. 90-97).

Schleiermacher also, religion is the essence of the heart. Every unity between two persons, even sexual unity, is a form of Divine Unity (5).

Some of Marx data came from history of religions of his time, offering comparative historical data. Marx also used anthropological studies on religion, since religion is a human and social phenomenon. It was the custom since Herder to depend on such scientific data in philosophical reflections. Philosophy became a rigorous science after Kant (6).

In spite of Marx critique of religion, he still uses some religious vocabulary to express his ideas. Religion as literature is an integral part of culture. In Marx review of Daumer's book "The Religion of the New Age," he observes that the author has a secular vocabulary, while the content is still religious. Marx makes the opposite, using religious vocabulary to express a secular content, such as "The song of songs of the new Solomon" (7).

In Islam, the critique of religion is very common. The Kur'an began such criticism by showing the inauthenticity of Biblical Scriptures, the deformation of Jewish and Christian dogma, and the alienation of religious practice. Religion can be manipulated by political power and religious leaders. Then prophets appear to correct the course of prophecy in history. The Kur'an also criticizes the practice of religion as hypocrisy, as external appearances without internal piety. Such critique was followed up by Muslim theologians, philosophers and mystics. Therefore, Islam does not

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(5) Sur la Religion. p. 333-34.

(6) Ibid, p. 233.

(7) Ibid p. 94-5.

see any inconvenience in criticizing religion since Islam itself is a critical review of the previous religious experiences, namely Judaism and Christianity.

II- From Critique of Religion to Critique of Society

Marx contribution was switching from critique of religion, the major contribution of Feuerbach, to the critique of society. Feuerbach's critique of religion was ideational, a critique of the essence of religion, without any reference to religious historical experiences, a pure philosophical critique in abstract, not a situational one in a concrete context. However, Marx begins with Feuerbach's critique of religion as self-alienation of man. Religion is man's self-consciousness, when man does not yet find himself or when he loses himself. Man is not an abstract category, but flesh and blood in society and state. Religion is the fanatic realization of the human being, because the human being does not possess a true reality, Feuerbach begins with the fact that religion makes man stranger to himself and living in a double World, or in two worlds, a world of representation and a real world. His work consists of bringing back the religious world to its temporal base to delineate man [(8)]. The earthly family is the secret of the Heavenly family. Critique of religion concludes that man is the supreme being for man, that a categorical imperative is necessary to correct social relations, making man a humiliated, abandoned and despised being. For Marx, Feuerbach does not see that religious soul itself is a social product. The abstract individual he is analyzing belongs in fact to a determined social form. Marx switches from the critique of

(8) Ibid p. 70-1

Feuerbach's abstract man to the critique of concrete social man. Sometimes Marx critique of religion is the same as Feuerbach's, with the only difference of level, from the essence of man to the function of society.

Religion for Marx is a simple reflection of society. It plays a double and opposite function: “Opium of the people” and “Sigh of the oppressed”. Historically, the first function of religion as opium is more substantial and more salient than the second one. Marxist literature is more abundant in exploring the first function than the second, in spite of Engels exploration of peasant war in Germany in the 16th century and communal life in early Christianity.

The first function, expressed in this famous Marxist dictum, appears when religion defends the status quo, alienates the masses and gives them illusory happiness, when religion is in the hands of the master as a tool of oppression, whether this master is an individual, a class or a political regime, Marx calls for the abolition of illusory happiness of the people as a requirement of people's real happiness. Renouncing illusions requires renouncing the situation creating the needs for those illusions. Critique of religion is therefore the way to sweep out the valley of the tears known as religion. It gets rid of the imagery flowers covering the chains, in order to see the chains without fantasy, without despair or hope, but to break the chains and pick living flowers. Critique of religion destroys the illusions of man in order to think, to act, to face his reality, to become man without reaching the age of reason, gravitated around himself, to becorne his own sun. Religion is an illusory sun gravitated around man as far as man is not gravitated

around himself. Marx is re-iterating the Copernicean revolution on the level of religion, not on the epistemological level as Kant did. Man turns around himself and religion turns around man, not religion turns around itself and man turns around religion [9].

The second function appears when religion is the sigh of the oppressed as a vehicle of protest. Religious distress is partly the expression of real distress and partly the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of oppressed nature, a soul of a World without heart, the spirit of social conditions when the soul is excluded. This function is rarely mentioned in the Third World and is deliberately forgotten in order to stereotype Marx critique of religion only on the first function, opium of the people. This is more appealing, more spectacular and more useful politically. Political leaders use it to warn religious masses against Marxism labeled as anti-religious and therefore insure the isolation of Marxist opposition and the neutralization of its possible influence on the masses. How to switch from kingdom of God to kingdom of men? This kingdom of God indeed never existed except in the imagination of men. For the masses, the proletariat, theoretical representation such as religion does not exist. There is no need to solve them. They are only dissolved by circumstances, once reality, which produces them, changes. It is therefore the task of history after the disappearance of what goes beyond reality to establish the truth of this world. It is also the task of philosophy to be in service of history, once it denounces the sacred form of man's self-alienation, unmasking self-alienation in its non-sacred forms.

(9) Ibid, p.42.

The Critique of Heavens becomes critique of Earth, critique of religion becomes critique of law, critique of theology becomes critique of politics.

In Pericles' time, Art and Rhetoric pushed religion aside. Once society is enlightened, religion vanishes. Human and social sciences in developed societies play the role of religion in developing societies [(10)]. This is true even without the need to be a Marxist. Religion is the reflexive history of mankind, reflected in its own mirror, the history of hope and despair of human society, the book on which mankind hangs its own soul. If Marx critique of religion is scientifically accurate, Islam would endorse it, since Islam also criticizes the two functions of religion Marx tried to describe, “opium of the people” and “sigh of the oppressed.” The Pharaoh oppressed ancient Egyptians in the name of religion and Moses liberated the Jews in the name of religion. The Romans oppressed the weak, the poor, the humiliated, the persecuted the wretched of the earth in the name of Roman religion, and Christ blessed them in his Beatitudes in the name of religion. Lords of Mecca persecuted the slaves and the poor in the name of religion, and Mohammed liberated them in the name of religion, Islam.

For Islam, religion is not a thing per se, but a means to something else, which is Justice and happiness on earth. When this purpose is accomplished, religion would have no function any more. It reappears once society returns back to its oppressive nature. The history of mankind is nothing else except this cycle of the rise and the fall of societies and cultures. This is called in Islam,

(10) Ibid p. 22.

history of prophecy. In fact, Revelation in Islam is a social critique and a historical review of previous human experiences. Once the thing is practiced its theory disappears. Theory is an orientation to practice, an invitation for doing. Religion is an invitation for action. This is the importance of "Theses on Feuerbach", Praxis as the only outcome of Logos, the Proletariat as the only heir of German Ideology. All discussions about the reality or unreality of thought isolated from practice are purely scholastic [(11)].

In Islam, religion does not live in Heavens but on Earth. It is not imaginary but real, since it came out of society and functioned for it in a given time and space. Revelation in Islam can be seen as the Word of God descending from Him via the Holy Spirit. It can also be seen as a socio-political reality of a given society, moving towards change and requiring new ideas and value-systems. Revelation does not come in a vacuum, for no purpose, but is revealed in a situation called Asbab Al-Nuzul. Reality precedes, Revelation follows.

In Islam, religion is not necessarily a super-natural phenomenon, requiring gods, angels, satans, prophets, miracles, and visions, but it is a Universal Code of Ethics, a value-system, a political ideology, a natural and a moral order. It does not necessarily break natural laws to permit miracles, but it can affirm natural laws to be known and used for the benefit of man on Earth. Religion does not necessarily require mysteries going beyond human reason. It is a rational religion, searched for by all philosophers, especially in the 17^{th} century. Religion is not necessarily against science, nor does it

(11) Ibid p.70.

begin where science ends. Science is a discipline, a human invention to understand nature. Religion is a simple orientation towards nature, a natural World view. It is more oriented towards human science than natural science.

Religion does not require necessarily rituals and ceremonies, external to faith. The good deed is the most honorable act, expressing piety. Religion does not presuppose priests, churches, clergy, institutions and holy places, as in religions of authority. It can also be a religion without mediation between man and God, an individual and social religion without reunification in a holy book, a holy father or holy church. Religious authority always deals with political authority, in conflict or in harmony. The central question posed by Western experience was what would prevail the domination of political authority by religious authority (Middle ages), the conflict and afterwards the separation between both religious and political authorities (Reformation, Renaissance and Enlightenment), or the domination of religious authority by political authority during the formation of Imperial Europe and national States. Now there is coordination between both authorities in a common cause, the Western project, in spite of some calls here and there for peace, justice and the welfare of all mankind.

III - From Critique of Society to Critique of Social Thought

Critique of religion is a part of a wider critique of all human intellectual production, including philosophy, politics, ethics, law and art [(12)]. All these intellectually productive activities, included in

(12) Ibid p.94.

ideologies and all corresponding forms of consciousness, have no autonomy. They do not exist per se. They are paraphenomena to social and real phenomena. Therefore, man makes religion, not religion makes man[13]. Societies create religious World consciousness put upside down. Religion is the general theory of this world, its encyclopedic corpus, its popular logic, its spiritual honour, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solonel complement, its consolation and its universal justification.

All forms of religions are expressions of social conditions, whether institutional, religions, religion of priests, or natural religions of man. Even religions of nature are conditioned by society and social relations based on freedom, justice and equality. Religion is the expression of social conditions, not social conditions are the expression of religions (Daumer). Ideas are those of the dominant class. Religion is the reflection of the real world. It does not change except by changing the conditions of labor [14].

This is not a naturalistic concept of religion but the real one, the description of religion as a social and historical factor. Spiritualism is not an alienation from the world, a void inspiration without content, a simple orientation away from this world, a mystical attitude repulsing the real world, but the affirmation of the world, the incarnation of the soul, the return to the real world. Void spiritualism needs matter and finds it in gesticulations, miracles, institutions, priests, authorities, books, sacred places, things. In contrast, vitalism or activism is a sane and normal unity, between spirit and matter as Islam conceives it.

(13) Ibid p.41.
(14) Ibid p.136-8.

Critique of thought is a part of critique of society, thought being an expression of society, a paraphenomenon for the real world, an image of things. To understand the image or to change it, the choice is possible by returning back to things themselves, as Husserl would say. Religion can be direct or indirect. Direct religion is worship. Indirect religion includes all forms of social and political action.

Division of Right and Left occurs not only in religion or in thought, but also in society, as two social powers: conservative and reactionary from one side, liberal and progressive from the other side. The essence of religion goes along with the progressive and revolutionary side, the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters. Religion is a liberating social and historical force. Priests are a certain kind of ideologist [(15)].They usually take the conservative and reactionary side.

Critique of society is a part of social change. It is not a theoretical, abstract and academic critique but a social struggle and a historical practice. Logos is a potential Praxis, and Praxis is an actual Logos. Struggling against religion is therefore struggling indirectly against this World, in which religion is its spiritual odour. Critique of religion is not a pure intellectual endeavour but a social and political revolution, a moving power in history, along with other forms of intellectual activity [(16)].

Religion is a historical phenomenon. It occurs in history, not outside history, History includes nature and society. Each period of

(15) Ibid p.76.

(16) lbid p. 77-6.

history has its own illusions in religion, ethics, politics. Hegel already saw a role for cunning in history. Young Hegelians conceived cunning psychologically, through perception. Religion is a motivating illusion and a moving ideology. This concept of religion as a production of mind, as an illusion, is truly religious, since religion is a perception of man. It presupposes that religion is congruent to primitive man and early societies from which history begins. Religion throughout history became a substitute in imagination to real production of means of life.

Historical changes lead to other changes in religious representations. They do not require new representations, but rather the negation of all religions [(17)]. That is why religion is a cultural phenomenon. Western religious experience has assimilated religions of China, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Arabia, Canaan, Hebrew, Greek and Rome. Religion is the embodiment of the spirit of the time, as with the State in China, Nature in India, Fire in Persia, The Sun on River Nile or the Pharaoh, the central power in Egypt, Mana the immanent spirit in things in Africa.

History of religions is parallel to history of material production. History of religious thought is also parallel to socio-political history. The origin of Christianity is congruent to the fall of the Roman Empire. Mediaeval Christianity is carried on feudalism. Ideas of the French revolution expressed the new bourgeois revolution and the free market economy.

In the Kur'an, religion is described in the same way, parallel to the social, political and historical development of different

(17) Ibid p.94.

societies. Societies fall when they break the ethical code, for example the people of Lot. They also collapse once they fall into the hands of feudalists and landlords, monopolizing and exploiting. Islam emerged in Arabia as a processes of social change, an egalitarian movement, heralding a new era without slaves and poor, the end of the mercantile society. Previously Arab society had conceived gods in their own images: male, beneficial, useful and ally. The Jews conceived God in terms of poverty and wealth, benefit and loss. Christ, as a reaction, conceived God as love, mercy and blessing. Islam is the Final demystification of history of religions, putting perfection in this World as the final cause, a World of freedom, Justice and Happiness. Man is an ultimate value. Survival is also a final goal.

IV - From Biblical Criticism to Critique of Religion

Marx critique of religion is a circumstantial critique, given the nature of Christianity and Western religious experience. It is not an absolute critique, but a particular one in time and in space. It can not be generalized to other religious data and in other religious experiences. It is not an ideational critique of the essence of religion, as in Feuerbach, but a situational critique based on the history of Western experience, generally described according to its three major periods: classical, medieval and modern. This historical review of Western, religious experience is compatible with dialectical materialism. Each phenomenon is a social and historical phenomenon. Philosophy, religion, art, law are social phenomena. It can be understood only society and in history, according to the dialectical law of thesis and antithesis, of action and reaction.

History of religions is a social history [18]. Development of religions and the transition from one to another represents transitional periods in history. Religion is not made by impostors but by history, not by individual wills but by group praxis, following development according to the law of universal history, which Hegel tried to describe [19]. Afterwards, impostors came from the clergy. Christianity was first a historical phenomenon and then contained contradictions and falsifications of impostors throughout history. Natural religions such as Fetechism in Africa and ancient primitive religions originated in history.

Religions, including dogmas, rituals, institutions, canons, are all historical phenomena. Biblical criticism shows the historicity of the text, with interpolations, diminutions, additions and deviations. Bauer criticized the New Testament and Marx generalized Bauer's findings to all religious texts. David Strauss also began by historical criticism of the texts and concluded to the negation of the historical Jesus [20].

Since religion is a historical phenomenon, it is born, develops and declines in history. Marx, Engels, Bauer, Kautsky and others were interested in the origin of Christianity, called primitive or early Christianity, to know how religions emerge in history. Renan's major work “Les origines du Christianisme," was also referred to [21]. The fall of ancient states brought also the fall of ancient religions. When the ancient World was declining, old

(18) Ibid p.87, 138.
(19) Ibid p.191.
(20) Ibid p.193.
(21) Ibid 191-201.

religions were vanquished by the Christian religion. Christianity was preceded by a total collapse of the structure of antiquity [22].

Christianity was adopted by the slaves and the oppressed, as an amalgemation of superstitions and imaginations to mobilize the masses and to initiate liberation movements. Christianity came as a new ideology presenting itself to the poor, the miserable, the despised and the wretched of the earth . Religion is the satisfaction of people's needs for security, justice and welfare.

An example of a Marxist reading of the Christian Scriptures was the Apocalypse of John, with its symbolism, images, dreams, hopes, cries, visions, expressions of the oppressed during the the persecution of the Roman Empire. The aesthetic aspect of the book appeals to popular imagination. That is why the book was popular. It encouraged the oppressed Christians to persevere. New converts adopted Christianity as future salvation. Social solidarity among the Christians was strengthened through love and common cause. Christianity became a liberation movement created by the masses and motivated by the sacrifice of Christ. The Apocalypse is a psychological and social expression of the oppressed in early Christianity, during the Roman Empire and before the convergence of Constantine. It is not the work of the Holy Spirit, but a mere human piece, written collectively and expressing the state of mind of the oppressed, with images from the Orient, the Torah and the gnostic circles in Asia minor. That was the conclusion of the Tübingen school, represented by F.C. Bauer, D. Strauss, B. Gofroner and independently, Renan. The authenticity of the book

(22) Ibid, p.22, 80, 94.

has been greatly discredited. The Apocalypse did not recognize dogmas of original sin or justification by works.

Christianity at that early stage was a religion without dogma. It was oriented completely towards praxis. However, its images came from the cultural heritage of the people, Judaism and Oriental symbolic numbers. The functions of the Torah were transposed to the person of Christ [(23)].

The other parts of the New Testament were also subject to criticism. The Tübingen school, as well as Bauer, denied the historical authenticity of the New Testament. The narratives are historically inauthentic, full of miracles which did not occur, contradictions and myths from the religious and cultural ancient Eastern environment, similar to the stories of the martyrs of ancient Hero folklore in Semite popular literature. The four Gospels are not direct eye-witness accounts, but posterior corrections of early lost writings. Out of the fourteen letters of Paul, only four are authentic. Bauer, through Biblical criticism tried to found universal religion without sacrificing the results of Biblical criticism and the dictums of reason inherited from the Enlightenment.

Philo is the true father of Christianity, by conceptualizing Logos theory, a passage between Greek Logos theory and Jewish Philosophy to Christian Logos in John's Gospel. Logos is God and God is Logos. Philo combined Jewish tradition and Greek Symbolism, the East and the West, and offered them ready made to Christianity. The principal revolutionary Christian idea carried by

(23) Ibid, p.195, 321, 317.

Philo was that the singular sacrifice for mediation and expiation of all sins of mankind, without any need for any other sacrifice is, Christ, the Universal dogma of Trinity [24].

Thus Christianity built a doctrine. Man is born with sins. Christ is the mediator between man and God, the "Incarnated Word." Logos became flesh. Expiation by animal offerings in old religions became that made once and for all by the son of God himself. His sacrifice appealed to all those who are suffering, because salvation was near. Christianity formed the image of the World, the dream of the soul and the hope of mankind. During the time of Augustin, the Immaculate Conception of Mary became an official doctrine of the state.

As a reaction to Jewish materialism, jouissance and joy of life, Christianity chose asceticism, monasticism and mortification of the body. As a reaction to Jewish particularism, with its God for a special people, Christianity offered Universal God for all peoples. Christianity rejected the material type of Jewish religion for a universal religion. Greco-Roman philosophy and culture made Christianity a religion in opposition to Jewish particularism, which had made God a national God, particular to the Jews [25].

Christianity was at first simple ethics, and was then reified. Christ was a model of the perfect life. His sermons on the mount were initiations for humility, peace and love. Then, he was reified through his titles, his word personified, his person deified. In primitive Christianity there were no rituals or ceremonies. It was a

(24) Ibid, p. 193, 321-2.
(25) Ibid p. 149.

model of the simple life. However, Roman and Jewish institutions transformed it into an aristocratic religion, a religion for the nobles and the priests.

If religion had freed people in the beginning, it has to be freed at the end. Once religion accomplishes its role as a liberating function it falls into superstition, magic and myth. Religion is then fabricated, artificially made and monopolized as a tool for dominiation by the priests and the impostors. Religion becomes therefore an imaginary reflection in people's mind for external powers dominating their lives. Earthly powers take the shape of Heavenly powers. In early periods of history, true powers were natural. Afterwards they became social [(26)]. Through the development of mankind natural powers and social powers were identified in the attributes of One God, an expression of the unity of the abstract man in his relations to foreign powers and social nature dominating him. Man is under the diomination of political and economic powers in bourgeois societies according to the common proverb: Man poses and God disposes, God here means foreign domination and the capitalist production Theism also began by the personification of natural powers and through a process of abstraction till the unity of God [(27)].

Jewish monotheism is adequate to the development of mankind. It was a combination of Jewish production and Greek philosophy. Monotheism is a late stage in the development of religion throughout history, in spite of its compromise with polytheism in admitting analogy.

(26) Ibid p. 148.
(27) Ibid p. 149, p.223.

The new World Structure did not come out of Christianity, but when the Huns and the Germans took over the Roman Empire, Christianity modelled itself according to the new era, and not vice versa [28]. The middle ages did not preserve the ancient World, except for Christianity. In spite of modern experiences, German ideology considered the struggle in the middle ages as theological disputes. Heavenly issues can be disputed, while earthly ones cannot [29]. Priests monopolized culture. Cultural movements were under theological domination. Church dogmas were postulates. Biblical texts had the power of law in courts. Law was under the tutorship of theology. Theology was overwhelmingly dominating everything. All human sciences were branches of theology and judged accordingly. All revolutionary and social movements were considered as theological heresies, although they were socio-political movements which needed to be desacralized. Clerical hierarchy was the base of the social structure and its justification.

If this description of the development of religion throughout history is scientifically true, namely compatible with reason and reality, the two major components of the Islamic revelation, then Islam would accept it. The Kur'an makes similar judgement on the history of early Christianity. The teachings of Jesus were falsified in history by his followers. The Gospel was not historically preserved. It has been altered. The dogmas were also deviated from. Christ never told his followers that he is the son of God, neither was Virgin Mary the mother of God. Christ went to Heaven before

(28) Ibid p.94.
(29) Ibid p.98-99.

crucifixion. God would have never permitted that evil triumphs. Monasticism was a late invention. Celibacy was a church institution, not a religious act, since there is no contradiction between marriage and spiritual life. The Kur'an utters three statements. The first regards the historical inauthenticity of the Scriptures. The second is related to the misunderstanding of figurative speech and the fall in the literal meaning of paternity. The third relates to celibacy and the glorification of the clergy.

These three statement can be easily substantiated by modern Biblical criticism, which is the basis of critique of religion [(30)].

V - From Feudalism to Capitalism

In the history of Western religious experience, Protestantism marks the passage from Feudalism to Capitalism. Luther is a part of the national history of Germany, and the history of Germany is a part of the history of Europe. Marx used his own religious and mystical data such as J. Boeheme, belonging to his own national culture. Protestantism expresses the very essence of German Culture. Luther translated the Bible into German, which helped in strengthening the German popular movement.

Munzer also eliminated Latin from the Bible. Protestantism contributed to the birth of the spirit of the Renaissance, one century after the Reformation. It broke the spiritual dialectics of the church and society for the sake of another dialectics between man and society. Luther cleaned the church from the priests and created the

(30) Hassan Hanafi, "History and Verification: A Kur'anic view on the Scriptures," in Religious Dialogue and Revolution, pp.21-55. Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, Cairo. 1977.

modern German Language. He composed the Marseilleuse, chanting the hymn of nationalism. He put an end to the inquisition's persecution of natural scientists and liberated science from theological dominium. Giordano Bruno and Copernicus emerged carrying the spirit of Protestantism in the new science.

Protestantism was at the same time a revolution against Feudalism and against the church, since the Roman Catholic Church was the very foundation of feudalism. Celestial Hierarchy was the psycho-intellectual Worldview, the base for class society as portrayed in Al-Farabi "Virtuous City," based on Hierarchy in the World, in the intellect, in the soul, in values and in social classes. All schematized in the Plotinian theory of emanation. The revolt against the Nobles was also a revolt against the priests. Both belonged to the same feudal class (31).

Protestantism is part of anti-clerical movement everywhere in Europe (Germany, England and France) against aristocracy and its sister, the church. One of the forms of religious oppression was the "Beer Bill," a church conjuration and simultaneously a capital monopoly. The Bill was issued in order that rich and Bourgeois classes might better dominate poor and lower class (32). The Bill does not touch aristocratic nightclubs, exactly paralleling the alcoholics prohibition law in parts of Muslim World, which is applied only in Ramadan, the fasting month, and even then, with the exception of 5 stars hotels to encourage Arab tourism! What happened in Germany happened also in France. The French

(31) Ibid p.100-3.
(32) Ibid p. 128, 179.

aristocracy was saying that Voltaire is for us, while the mass and the dimes are for the people. Likewise, the English aristocracy says Bigotry is for us while Christian practice is for the people.

Revolution against feudalism was constantly carried on by mysticism, as an ascetic movement, once as a passive reactionary movement, for example the Mendicant Friars, the revolution of Peter Valdus, and the establishment of the Lyon poor society, preaching poverty as an ideal, and once as an armed struggle movement. If Christian saints mortify the body for the sake of spiritual life, modern saints mortify people's body to verify their own bodies (33). The fall of the leisure aristocracy and the Church led to mass demonstrations. The struggle against priesthood is a class struggle, poor against rich, lower class against higher class. Urban heresies were directed against the priests. The new bourgeois revolution declared the establishment of a primitive church, cancelled Monasticism, opposed Church dogmas and orders, judged by Marx as reactionary, but not as a step to a more radical revolution, that of the proletariat. Luther opposed feudal Christianity as a contradiction of early and modest primitive Christianity. Feudalism ended and the age of the Bourgeoisie began. The Bourgeoisie produced the legal world view which was the secularization of Canon law. Divine right yielded to human right. The state was substituted for the Church. Secularization expressed the spirit of the time.

The Reformation was an emancipation of both the individual and society. It was a historical revolution. However, Luther

(33) Ibid p. 130-1.

vanquished one servitude, only to devote himself to substituting for it another servitude of conviction. He broke faith in authority to restore the authority of faith. Luther liberated the believers from servitude of the church, but he substituted for it the servitude of conviction. He rejected external and institutional authority and instituted another internal authority, the authority of faith. Luther transformed the clergy to laymen, in transforming laymen to clergy. He liberated man from external religiosity but subdued him to the internal one. He liberated the body from its chains, reinstituting them in the heart. If Protestantism was not the true solution, it was the true way to pose the problem. The issue was no longer the external struggle of laymen against clericalism, but the struggle against clericalism internal in him, because of man's clerical nature in bourgeois society (34).

Munzer called for the reading of the whole Bible, not only the Gospels, given the unity of the Holy Scriptures and the importance of history (35). However he rejected the Bible as infallible and unique revelation. True revelation is a rational one, existing in all times with all peoples. The actual Bible contradicts reason and conflicts with the human mind. But the holy spirit is in us. Soul and faith are different forms of reason in man. Even pagans have their faith, since they are rational beings. By faith, reason lives. By reason, man becomes God and is sanctified like Him. Heaven is not far but near, not outside the world but here in this world, in mundane life. The Believer's vocation is to establish the kingdom of Heaven on Earth. Also, Hell

(34) Ibid p.51.
(35) Ibid p.112.

does not exist outside this World . The devil is nothing except human instincts and desires. Christ is a human being like other human beings, a prophet and master. The last supper is a simple common meal, eating and drinking normally without any mysteries. Munzer preached these human teachings, using a Christian vocabulary. He changed the content, keeping the form [(36)].

Munzer's political theory was similar to his religious revolutionary theory going beyond the established social and political relations as well as the established religious doctrines in his time. As his religious ideas were closer to atheism, his political ideas were closer to communism, realization of popular demands, the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth, a heavenly society without classes. Munzer is a true revolutionary. He reads the text as an encouragement to revolution [(37)]. Munzer criticized Catholicism philosophically and theologically, and adopted Pantheism and Atheism. Pantheism is more revolutionary because it conceives God down to Earth, away from the aristocratic, noble and unseen God. Atheism is a natural reaction against despotic Theism.

Unlike Luther, Munzer struggled against established authorities. He despised Church dogma and rituals. He cancelled the transubstantiation from the mass. He condemned the failing church and declared the forthcoming of the Millenarian Church. Munzer's criticism was against the priests as a theologians. He was for peaceful development of Germany. He even shared the first calls of Luther's peaceful revolution. Then he realized that peaceful means

(36) Ibid p 119.
(37) Ibid p. 119.

were incapable of achieving social change. Therefore, he called for people's armed revolution against Roman priests, supported by Christ who said: "I did not come to offer peace but the sword" (38).

Luther was not a partisan of fulfilling Gospel's goals by violence and bloodshed. The church was established by the Word and by the Word it will be re-established . Anti-Christ will rule without violence and will disappear without violence (39). At most, Luther was a mediator between revolutionaries and government authorities. He criticized Munzer's peasant war, since revolution is against the teachings of the Gospels. If revolution is necessary, it has to happen by peaceful means. Revolutionaries did not revolt against feudalism but God did. Revolutionaries are only the children of God.

Protestantism is an Islamic revolution, ideationally and historically. Islam made the same criticism of the history of Judaism and Christianity, rejecting the authority of the Rabbis and the priests, freeing man from any`mediation between him and God. Islam also rejects the use of religion for socio-economic domination, exemplified in feudalism. Islam would first use peaceful means for social change through good advice, checking authorities and the judicial system. If these means do not succeed, however, then revolution becomes necessary as a defensive measure used by the oppressed against the oppressors. Jihad is a revolutionary violence against oppressive violence. Historically, the Reformation was partly motivated through the contact of Christian

(38) Ibid p. 112.
(39) Ibid p. 107-9.

Europe with the Muslim World, via the Crusades and the translations of Muslim theology, philosophy and science into Latin. Luther knew Arabic and was aware of Islam. Protestantism is in fact a realization of Islamic criticism of the history of Christianity, from within Europe as real demands.

VI - From Bourgeois Revolution to Proletarian Revolution

Marx sees the Protestant Reformation as a Bourgeois Revolution. Since the Bourgeoisie produced the proletariat, then it is a class revolution. Idealism switches to dialectics. Adam Smith and classical economy became socialist economy. The legal bourgeois sense was transformed to a human sense. Superstructure, in carrying religion., law and philosophy, revealed the infrastructure. Reformation is not only revolutionary, political and religious ideas, but also a revolutionary social structure. The study of bourgeois production shows the nature of religious thought. Religious wars in the 16th century were caused by class interests. During, the Reformation, three major political trends were crystallized: The Catholic reactionary trend of the Church, the Bourgeois Reformation trend of Luther, and the Revolutionary workers trend of Marx.

According to Marx, Luther's speech on the freedom of the Christian was the beginning of a new revolution. He first called for armed struggle, then switched to peaceful means to win the backing of the German Bourgeoisie. Luther betrayed the popular movement and allied himself to the Nobles party, preaching peaceful revolution and non-violent resistance in his speeches to the German Nobility. For Marx, what is needed is not a dogmatic revolution but

a real revolution, a revolution in the infrastructure, not in the superstructure. What is needed is not a bourgeois revolution, but a proletarian revolution. He used the Bible as the base of established authority, justifying monarchy. He legitimized servitude in the name of the Torah [40].

Thus the Reformation was a partial social change, while revolution is a radical one. The work of Protestantism, the transformation of German laymen into clergy, emancipated and privileged the lay Pope, the princes and their privileged clergy. The same transformation of clericalized Germans into ordinary men through Philosophy emancipated the people. As emancipation is not confined to princes, secularization of Goods (values) is also not confined to the dispossession of the church, practiced by the hypocrites of Prussia. Marx goes one step further, to emancipate the whole people from the exploiting Church as well as from the oppressing State.

Marx also criticized the peasant war as insufficient for a proletarian revolution. The peasant war, the most radical revolution in the History of Germany, failed because of the obstacles of theology.

Liberation of theology is necessary after theology of liberation. After the failure of theology, German Ideology took over and served as the base of the German State. Marx looked for a radical revolution, beginning with the critique of religion generating feudalism, of theology generating Protestantism, and of philosophy generating German Ideology. The Critique of Ideology is a critique of religion, politics, ethics and economics for the

(40) Ibid p. 111.

foundation of a new science. Marxism is a critique of society. Philosophy is linked to the Proletariat, not to German Ideology, a product of bourgeois revolution. Man is the highest supreme being, discovered through critique of religion and of society. German renaissance is not only dependent on the type of socio-political regime but also on the type of dominant ideas on religion.

On the eve of the Reformation, official Germany was the most subdued valet to Rome. At the eve of the Revolution, it became the most subdued valet to Prussia and Austria. In both cases, Germany can be compared to Fetechism, consumed by the sickness of Christianity (41). Marx is a German nationalist expressing German national feeling. He aimed at a complete liberation of Germany.

For Marx, religion prospers when priests practice the policy of mortification of the body, as law prospers when lawyers die from hunger. However, Protestant pastors do not obey Paulus, and do not practice the mortification of the body through monasticism (42). The critique of monasticism and the call of Protestant pastors for the application of the Biblical precept, “increase and multiply," contradict any other call for birth control and the limitation of population increase for the sake of a better development and standard of life.

Switching from the 16th to the 17th and 18th centuries in the history of Western religious experience, the struggle of the ascending Bourgeoisie against the established religion was made on three major fronts: first, the reformation and the attacks on the

(41) Ibid p.52.
(42) Ibid p. 140.

church for the formation of a new one, according to Calvin, democratic and republican, unlike the monarchic system. However Luther defended absolute monarchy, while Calvin himself fell into the doctrine of predestination. Competition and profit do not depend on man, but they belong to socio-economic social structures independent of him (43).

Second, in the English revolution and the birth of materialism, Cromwell and Hobbes, the ascending Bourgeoisie, found in Calvinism its own expression to fight the king, but at the costs of lower classes and in the name of religion. Religion and ethics became a product of the Bourgeoisie. The birth of materialism in England helped in the liberation of old feudal religion, but brought a new bourgeois religion. Hobbes succeeded in using Bacon to destroy Theism, which had itself helped previously in getting rid of' the dogmatic and ritualistic religion of the middle ages. Matter alone is the object of perception. Since God is incorporeal, He can not be perceived and consequently known. Progress of knowledge became conditioned by the retreat of religion (44). However, the English Bourgeoisie opposed materialism and revolution, fearing God. They held religion as feeling for the masses and as dogmas for the elite. Thus the English Bourgeoisie fell again into servility. The Proletariat appeared in spite of American religious propaganda for primitive Christianity. Revolution was accepted by the new parliamentary system, which succeeded the system of Nobility and Tradition (45).

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(43) Ibid p.294-7.

(44) Ibid p.286.

(45) Ibid p.898-308.

Third, materialism and the French revolution in the 18th century continued the critique of religious tradition as it appeared in the enlightenment, exemplified by the Encyclopedia, with a complete refusal of compromise between reason and religion for a radical “coupure épistémologique” between both. Deism of the 18^{th} century was substituted for Theism of the 16^{th} century. Deism conceived the World without God, but with order, a step towards a scientific outlook on the World as the base of scientific socialism. People's religion appeared against religion of authority and religion of class, another step towards Marxism. Enlightened religion was the work of the Bourgeoisie. The development of capitalist society was founded in Christianity and the cult of the abstract man, its bourgeois Protestantism. Theism and Deism have convenient religious foundations. The Jews flourished in this bourgeois business society. They were the merchants of Polish society (46). When in the 18th century Christian ideas yielded to ideas of progress, feudal society was engaged in its last battle against the Bourgeoisie, still revolutionary. Ideas of freedom, of consciousness, and religious freedom, declared the era of free competition in the field of knowledge (47).

However, any tradition is "vis inertiae" in history, a backward movement. Since Tradition is a passive element, it disappears. Religion never survives in capitalist societies. Religion became philosophy, due to the enlightenment, and philosophy becomes mass-praxis in societies. Both Religion and capitalist societies

(46) Ibid p.136.
(47) Ibid p, 87.

disappear for the sake of science and socialism. Neither Religion can help capitalist society for survival, nor capitalist society can preserve religion.

According to Islam, enlightenment is a step towards the understanding of religion according to reason, not reified dogmas or external rituals, a step towards the socio-political function of religion. Reformation is also a transitional step towards radical social change. Before Islam, there were some religious reformist movements calling for the same Islamic principles, like Hanifism, a certain kind of natural religion. Islam conceives the development of revelation in history progressively, until the accomplishment of its final goal, the perfection in man, the autonomy of the reason and the freedom of the will, the perfection of society, the democratic and classless society. Development of revelation is parallel to development of mankind, following the same laws and tending to the same final goal.

VII - From Christian Socialism to Scientific Socialism

Before Christianity, Equality between free men and slaves, between countrymen and foreigners, between citizens and agents, was a crime. Partisans of equality in early Christianity were also persecuted. Gradually equality of all men in front of God, as the dogma of the early church, was the prolegomena to civil, social and economic equality [(48)].

For Marx, it is an equality between slaves and persecuted, not between the elite, of the bottom not of the top. Early communistic

(48) Ibid p. 103.

Christianity was a kind of social solidarity between the oppressed, more than a real concept of equality. Christianity knew only equality of all human beings in original sin, a passive equality, equality of God's children through Christ's salvation and sacrifice. Original sin and redemption, the Alpha and Ornega of Christian faith, laid the ground for social solidarity between men and their high power; one for all and all for one. According to the social principles of Christianity, all villeins of the oppressors against the oppressed are the just punishment for original sin and other sins, the temptation of God as infinite wisdom for those He chose. Social reform of monarchy takes profit from the capital of original sin and redemption.

Marx rejects religious socialism. Nothing is more easy than to give a socialist color to Christian asceticism. Christianity is against private ownership, preaching charity, mendacity, celibacy, mortification of the flesh, monastic life. Christian socialism is only the blessed water with which priests consecrate the spite of aristocracy [(49)]. Social principles of Christianity in Heaven are this compensation of the earthly famine to justify its permanence on earth. To remediate by absurd charlatanries the lack on earth of social solidarity, by imaginary overhead and a traffic with God the Father, is to fail social solidarity obligations. Social principles of Christianity teach cowardliness, self-despisement, depassement, servility, humility. These are all the qualities of the rabble, while the proletariat needs courage, dignity, pride, independence. They are principles of hypocrisy, while those of the proletariat are revolutionary. The Gospel teaches also that castration is the first

(49) Ibid p.81-3.

measure of social reform of one's self. However, the question is, can social principles of Christianity spare communism? [50].

The social principles of Christianity have existed for 20 centuries and do not need to be developed any more. They have justified ancient slavery, hailed the serfdom of the middle ages, and are still ready to maintain the oppression of the proletariat, with charity from the dominant class to the lower class. The German invasion of Europe excluded the concept of equality for several centuries and established social, political and economic hierarchy[51]. The struggle between priests and laymen put an end to these seeds of equality. As priests and feudal lords went hand in hand, clerical socialism also went alongside feudal socialism[52]. A Christian state should not tolerate the persecution of the proletarian.

In modern times, the history of early Christianity is similar to the history of the contemporary labor movement. As early Christianity was the expression of the oppressed movement, so was the labor movement in modern times. As early Christianity was a religion of slaves, poor, dispossessed, colonized and people dispersed by Rome, so was labor socialism in modern times, calling for near salvation from servitude and misery. Christianity retains this salvation upwards, after death and in Heavens, while socialism brings it here, in this World and through social change. Three centuries after the birth of Christianity, it became the official religion of the state, the Roman Empire. After sixty years from

(50) Ibid P.89.
(51) Ibid p.146.
(52) Ibid p.88.

modern European history, victorious socialism was adopted as an official social movement and political party. Historical circumstances in both cases were similar, the decline of ancient Roman society and the fall of new Bourgeois European society. In both cases the movements were launched in urban areas, from the dislocation of social structure. Now socialism appears as a return to early Christianity. Although early Christianity is gone, it can be seen again in the "International Workers League." According to Hegel, religion and politics are related to practical issues. They are not incompatible. They are even identical [(53)]. Protestantism and secularism were transitional periods towards scientific socialism.

Natural religion is the re-establishment of pre-Christian religion, according to Daumer. It presents some progress vis à vis established religion. However, it is still regressive, since it is created before Christianity and before scientific socialism. It can be easily absorbed in natural science [(54)].

Atheism was a positivist reaction against clericalism, of concrete materialism against dogmatic theology. That is why German thinkers adopted French materialism [(55)]. Religious dualism between God and the world, soul and body ended. This dualism was based on the negation of the body and the compensation of this negation by the affirmation of the soul, according to religious mechanism misery of the one and consolation of the other. Western atheism is also a rectification of religions in history. God is not

(53) Ibid p.310-20.
(54) Ibid p.95-6.
(55) Ibid p.220.

anthropomorphic but transcendent, a rational principle or a freedom of consciousness, a mathematical axiom or a living experience. Finally, atheism is a social demand, more radical than religion. It was very common in European labor parties. There is a practical contradiction, not only a theoretical one, between faith and socialism. Believing in God, not in the Virgin Mary, is against socialism. Pierre Bayle announced atheistic society to prove the possibility of the existence of such society of pure atheists. An atheist can be the poorest man. Man is not swallowed by atheism but by superstition and idolatry.

If bourgeois society, represented by Protestantism, called for freedom of religious consciousness, this freedom may require also self-liberation from all religious illusions. One of the fundamental human rights is satisfaction of all spiritual and material needs without police intervention. Bringing God to an end is the beginning for discovery of the real world. God has to be cancelled by a decree. Each one has to be an atheist by a legal opinion (Fatwa) from the Jurist (Mufti), signed by two witnesses from the commune, the commune of liberating humanity from its past. God as the first cause, must be the cause of its actual misery. All religious manifestaions and organizations have to be abolished. Bismark decreed laws against Catholicism and this action can be extended to religion per se.

As Idealism was a natural development of religion, materialism likewise was a natural development of Idealism. Three stages mark the development of Western philosophy and the three successive stages of Western humanity, as Comte observed in his law of three stages: Religion, philosophy and science. This was

formulated to defend positivism, a reactionary movement maintaining social stability.

Undoubtedly, religious, moral, philosophical, political and legal ideas developed throughout history. They are sustained as major fields of human activities. There are eternal truths such as freedom, justice, and equality, common to all social regimes. Communism abolishes them instead of renewing their forms. Scientific socialism and critique of religion are irrefutable, while religious critique of scientific socialism is trivial [(56)].

Philosophy was the transitional passage from religion to science. The revolution works no more through Reformation but through Philosophy. German philosophy itself as a new religion was an expression of the agony of the German Bourgeoisie. Feuerbach was the explosion of both religion and philosophy. He declared the end of German classical philosophy, from Hegel to Feuerbach to Marx, from Geist to man to society. History of religion and history of philosophy also unveil periods of history. Feuerbach, with other young Hegelians, left religious studies for philosophy. As Kierkegaard did, they gave absolute priority to reality, against the system. History of religion is history of humanity [(57)].

History of science is the history of struggle against superstition. Science, unlike religion and philosophy, begins by a human effort to understand nature. The progress of scientific thought is conditioned by the abolition of religious thought, still represented by the tradition and the church.

(56) Ibid p. 87-8.
(57) Ibid p. 335.

Science frees the human mind from past religious legacy till science becomes a substitute for religion. Science does not admit miracles in nature, as religion does. All natural phenomena are subject to natural laws. John's Apocalypse can be understood scientifically by natural laws. Science does not deal with the existence of God, or the immortality of the soul, going beyond its limits. It deals with the origin of cosmos called in religion the creation or the eternity of the World . Science cannot be used to prove religious dogma such as the use of modern physics to prove spiritism. The increase of degree of subjectivism in modem science does not prove any spiritual World beyond the natural world. Science and Faith are two different and even contradicting sources of knowledge. Science rejects also the dualistic concept of the Universe: Spirit and matter, soul and body, man and nature. God and cosmos were inherited by Christianity from the fall of ancient culture. Science operates on a monistic concept. Science changes. Progress of science is permanent. Europe broke the spiritual dictatorship of the Pope and has progressed in science since the Renaissance. In religion, God suffered from those who defended Him, while in science God acquired peace, since nature yielded to science, the new source of knowledge through experience, not the personified God, Omniscient and Omnipotent [58].

For Islam, religious socialism is a part of its ethical requirements, a face to face relation, a voluntary individual and free action. Piety requires charity. Charity is the right of the poor in the wealth of the rich, a requirement of believing in One God, manifesting in one society. Equality is not between slaves and masters but between free men, affiliating to the same Universal Principle and applying the same Universal Code of Ethics. Religious social solidarity is not an opium but a real human and social need. Modern socialist

(58) Ibid p. 186-90.

movements are approaching religous ideas of social solidarity. Islam is a natural religion based on natural reason. Monotheism and the moral law are rooted in the heart of man. Western atheism was an effort to recover some constitutive elements of Islam, religion without dogma, rituals or church. The development of religious thought and European history from religion to philosophy to science is similar to Islamic law of development of prophecy, from Judaism to Christianity to Islam. Judaism is religion, Christianity is metaphysics, while Islam is science, the last stage of human development. Science flourished in Islam because both science and religion are from the same discipline, tackling the same natural order with the same tool, human natural reason.

VIII - Marx and Islam

Marx referred literally to Islam as religion, compared to Judaism and Christianity, as a part of religions of the East. He gave a commercial or agricultural interpretation to its birth, religion being the expression of modes of production. In this he confused Islam and Arabia, putting all religions as stages in history, Finally he admitted the contributions of the Arabs in the progress of science and its transmission to the Western world, from the periphery to the centre.

What Marx said about Islam may not be that different from what he had said about Christianity and other religions. Islam is considered by the Muslims as the true religion, just as Christianity is considered also true by the Christians and Judaism by the Jews. However, Islam recognizes religions before it, admitting the truthfulness of Christianity and of Judaism. Islam is nothing else except a historical, dogmatic and behavioral correction of Judaism and Christianity. Islam is at the same

time a negation and an affirmation, an Aufhebung. It does not abolish but it perfects.

Marx calls the Muslim a Mohammetan, as Orientalism always did, by analogy to the attribution of the Christian to Christ. He sometimes uses some Kur'anic expressions as modes of expression, such as "The Surates of the Kur'an," referring ironically to some passages of Daumer's book, "Mohammed and his Work" [59]. Daumer considered Christianity and Islam as models of new religions. Completely new mondial (world) structures and conditions can not be born except by new religions. Christianity and Islam can be taken as examples and proofs of the powers of religions, by opposition to abstract political thought. Religion is revolution. It creates new social conditions, and is not only created by them. Marx rejects that kind of idealism and makes an irony about Daumer occupying himself by the stories of Hafez and Mohammed.

Marx gives a historical interpretation of the birth and development of Islam. Once commercial routes between Europe and Asia switched from Arabia, the new religion appeared to bring back the routes of commerce in Arabia, between the commercial towns like Mecca and Medina. Elsewhere, Marx understands Islam as a Bedouin reaction against Settling peasants in declining cities and religions such as Judaism and Christianity [60].

Religions appeared in the East, carrying the same culture and the same mentality. The History of the East is itself a history of religions. For the Mongols, the king is the only owner of the land. In Turkey, Persia and Hindustan, there is no private land ownership. The absence of this land private ownership is the key to the natural and indigenous socialism. Any free economy based on free competition would fail in the East. That is why Islam expresses

(59) Ibid p.122-7.
(60) Ibid p.122-7.

the spirit of the East. Islam came to put an end to the mercantile society based on class society, in order to build a new society without classes. Islam preserved its ancient oriental character and expounded it in Asia and North Africa, which were conquered by the Arab Bedouins. Islam became the official religion of these areas but failed in the European West [(61)].

Arabs, like Mongols, made successive invasions. Babylonian and Assyrian Empires were built also by Bedouin tribes in the same areas as the caliphs of Bagdad, and afterwards. The Chaldeans from Beni-Khaled also lived in the same area. They constructed cities like Ninawa and Babel very quickly, and afterwards Akra, Delhi, Lahore, Mouttan in India, during the Tatar Afghan invasion. Islam expanded through these invasions of the indigenous people, while most of the Arabs stayed in the Arabian Peninsula, along with civilized peoples like the Egyptians and the Assyrians [(62)]. New religious values originated from old writings in the monotheistic tradition of the south (as it the case of red Indians in America or ancient Hebrews). Islam appeared, like every other religion, as a certain form of all reactionary movements, calling for the affirmation of endogenous tradition and a simple life. The Kur'an is an example of mythical tradition, just like Jewish scriptures.

Marx studies Islam and Judaism as two major religions in Arabia. He mentions the genealogy of Noah and Abraham in the Exodus, to know the exact number of Bedouin tribes at that time, like Beni Salih and Beni Yusuf. Jewish scriptures were preserved in written forms as tribal religious traditions of ancient Arabs. Arabs and Hebrews belong to the same origin. Palestine was a desert with an independent history. The Ku'ran is also an ancient Arab tradition

(61) Ibid p.200.
(62) Ibid p. 122.

preserving Arab Tribes, like Edda in German epics. Marx did not make any distinction between Islam and Arabia.

Marx follows the birth and development of Arab national consciousness, crystallized in Islam invading Persia and Rome. The church tried to stop this expansion during the Crusades but failed. The cause of the decline of the Muslim World is internal not external. Noting the similarity between ancient primitive Christianity and modem scientific socialism, Marx compares this similarity with the Muslim World, showing the contradiction between the two cases, Christianity in Europe and Islam in Africa. Islam is an oriental religion, a religion of townsmen and Bedouin Arabs, merchants, workers and wondering Bedouins. In these circumstances emerge the roots of the periodical decline of Islam. After the luxury and the opulence of townsmen, they abandoned the law. The brave and strong Bedouins aspired for the wealth of townsmen and unified themselves around a prophet or a Mahdi, a Messiah to punish the infidels, apply the law, and rectify the creed. They obtained the wealth of the infidels as a gift. After hundreds of years, they began to decline according to the same law and other Bedouins inherited them and so on. This is clear, from the invasions of the Almohades in Africa and Spain, until the last Mahdi in Khartoum, who was victorious in his wars against the British and made coups d'etat in Persia and in other Muslim countries. These were economic movements in the shape of religious movements. After coming to power, they changed nothing in the economic structure. The permanent economic struggle continued taking religious forms, while in the West the religious form declines as the economic system ascends. That is why there is no progress in the Muslim World, while progress occurs in the West. It is clear that Marx here follows Ibn Kaldun's cyclic interpretation of Arab history , uses his double-concept of townsman

versus Bedouin, and follows his periodical cycles of birth and decline of civilizations(63).

The only positive point Marx observes in Islam is the contribution of the Arabs in the development of science and scientific thought in the middle ages and consequently in the Reformation and in the Renaissance. He does not note how the influence of Arab free thought, through the Greeks and the Romans, also contributed in the crystallization of materialism in the 18th century. Therefore the Arabs contributed in the progress of history (64).

It is clear that the concept Marx had from Islam came from the classical Western Orientalism, history of religions and travellers. He applied to Islam his conclusions on religion, using Christianity as a model, without any specificity given to Islam. He interpreted Islam via modes of production without asking question of essence. But, in reality, Islam is at the same time a religion of the East, the unity, and a religion of the West. Islam is an "Eastern-Western"religion. After visiting Algeria, Marx saw how Islam was rooted in the people's life. However, Marx repeated the stereotyped images of Islam, always repeated in the West. The whole question is, how far what Marx said on Africa and Asia, such as the Asiatic mode of production, belongs to science or to ideology?

IX - Conclusion: An Islamic Reading of Marxism or a Marxist Reading of Islam?

Islam and Marxism can be dealt with in two different ways: First, an Islamic reading of Marxism beginning with Marxist texts on religions and interpreting them according to Islam; second, a Marxist reading of Islam, beginning with Islamic major social texts and interpreting them, having in mind

(63) Ibid p.311 -2.
(64) lbid p. 152-70.

Marxist analysis. Since the first choice was taken in order to show the historical circumstances on which Marx based his judgments on religion and how far these judgements can be generalized on other religions, such as Islam, in different circumstances, now the second alternative will be applied, to show the inherent Marxism in Islam and the Isamic motivations in Marxism.

It goes without hesitation that Islam is a socialist religion, given its major socio-economic and political options. Ownership in Islam is not private but eminent. Everything on earth belongs to God. Man is only the "vice-gerant". What he has is only a deposit left to him. He has the right to use, not to misuse, to invest not to monopolize, to earn not to exploit. Eminent ownership is similar to social ownership since society is the embodiment of the common welfare.

The society owns the general means of production, which touch every individual such as grass, water (agriculture), fire (industry), salt (minerals). Commerce can be left as private business once the state fixes the prices in the market to prevent exploitation. Commerce is a non-productive service, bringing already produced ware from a place to another, a lower economic activity compared to agriculture and industry. In case of exploitation, the state has the right to confiscate, to nationalize and to control in favour of common welfare.

Work in Islam is the only source of value. The capital belongs to the state. There is no super-value to be deduced from labor and added to the Capital. That is why usury is prohibited. Usury means earning without effort, money generating money without work, taking advantage from the needy persons.

Islamic society is almost a society, without classes, poor and rich, exploited and exploiters. Wealth has not to be accumulated in the elite. Accumulation of wealth leads to monopoly of power. Alms are one of several means for capital circulation. A part of' ones wealth (2.5%) which has not been

invested for a whole year has to be given back to the poor through appropriate channel for social services. This minimum is compulsory, a religious precept. However, the state can increase it in proportion to the amount of accumulation, something similar to the graduation of tax rates according to wealth.

Another means for social solidarity is giving a part of one's Wealth to the poor as an expiation of breaking the law. That means accumulating wealth is equal to sin, and giving one's wealth is an expiation of one's sin.

According to the whole Islamic Worldview, the human being lives in his World but is not from this World. He came owning nothing and leaves owning nothing. His life is only transitional, a preparation for another life. What he owns is only the good deeds he does during his life. He is saved only by the good deeds. He has a message to fulfill on earth, the implementation of the word of God, the realization of revelation as an ideal structure of the World. He is a hero and his life is heroism. His temporal life is the way to Eternity.

To conclude, Marx critique of religion is only based on partial religious data from Judaism and Christianity. But Islam is the implementation of Marxist ideals of socialism freedom and Justice. It goes without hesitation that Marxism is an Islamic religion, and Islam is a Marxist ideology. It is by no means a desire to accommodate Marxism to Islam. or Islam to Marxism, but rather to see in one synopsis the internal unity between Marxism and Islam, especially Marxism of the twentieth century such as structural, Hegelian or phenomenological Marxism, which does not sacrifice the question of Essence, and Islam of the 15th century Hijri, the Islamic left which does not sacrifice mass interests and common welfare, as the first and major source of revelation. Marxism as an ideal motivation in Western experience in the 19th century is almost identical to Islam, sharing, the same ideal motivation in Arabian experience. Shared experiences reveal a structure or an Essence which can be called either Marxism or Islam.

HUMAN RIGHTS BETWEEN UNIVERSALITY AND CULTURAL CONDITIONING

I - Introduction: Human Rights, Concept and Reality.

1- Violations of human rights are everywhere. They are not only in the countries of the Third World, but also in Western countries. Genocide occurs in Europe, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Palestinian persecution, in occupied Palestinian territories, occurs in Israel, ostensibly a model of a Western country in the middle East, supported by the U.S.A. In South Africa, Apartheid is implemented by the British and the Dutch. In the USA, political assassinations of Martin Luther King and John F. Kennedy are done on the land of the champion of the Free World. Mounting fundamentalism is not only in the Muslim World but also in England, France and Germany, based on racism, or in the USA, based on religion. The dismantling of the Soviet Union into disputing ethnicities is the violations of human rights of individuals and peoples for the sake of purity of blood and in the name of the integrity of the nation.

2- Human rights can be approached in different ways, among them; historically, showing the socio-political circumstances behind the violations of human rights; legally, showing the implications of these violations for the legal status of individuals and nations and the necessity of international intervention through UN commissions on human rights. However, the conceptual approach must clarify in-depth the reason for human rights violations which lie essentially

(*) Evangylische Akademie, Loccum, Germany, 1993.

within the concept of man in every culture. The cultural approach is the most relevant one, especially in traditional societies where traditions are still living, providing the peoples with their Weltanschaungen and their norms of behavior. It may help also in unveiling the cultural basis of the concept of human rights in the West. Perceptions and Worldviews are the real foundations of things and realities.

3- The Islamic Worldview goes beyond ethnicities. Asian Islam, African Islam, Arab Islam or Euro-American Islam all are particularities within Global Islam as World view. Some Western Institutions may work from an illusionary dichotomy between Asian Islam and Arab Islam. The first is more peaceful, more manageable, more understanding of the West and understandable by the West. While Arab Islam is more antagonistic, more radical and more rejectionist of the West, as well as rejected by the West. What about the Islamic revolution in Iran, the Islamic struggle in Afghanistan and the Palestinian resistance movement, still more radical, more violent and more antagonistic to the West? What about Saudi and Gulf Islam, more Western and more dependant on the West than ever? For the sake of a healthy and productive intercultural dialogue, more representation for all variants in Islam is needed, to deal with the whole Islamic spectrum, without presupposed choices based on illusions.

II – The Concept of Human Rights in the West

1- The concept of human rights in the West is conditioned by the cultural experience of European history in modern times. The Reformation stressed the importance of faith in the instant, not in

history, the direct relation between man and God, without the intercession of the church, Sola Scripura not the tradition.

The freedom of the Christian, the right to interpret and to understand, the justification by faith alone not by works of the law. All contributed to the discovery of man as a new religious horizon. The Renaissance switched from Theocentrism to Anthropo-centrism. God became man took a new departure in defense of man. Giordano Bruno, Petrarch, Campanella, L. Vives, M.Ficino, G.P. de la Misrandola, P. Pomponazzi. All these major thinkers of the Renaissance defended the dignity of man. Erasmus made Humanism a whole philosophical trend in the 16^{th} century.

2- This new human motivation was reaffirmed in the Cartesian “Cogito ergo sum” of the 17th century, where man became, as a knowing subject, the center of the Universe. God is the idea of perfection, and the world is a combination of two other ideas, movement and extension. The Copernican revolution was completed in the 18^{th} century in Germany by Kant, making the subject the center and the object turning around it, and advanced the view of the helio-centric system towards the view of the rights of man to know. The French revolution inserted Knowledge into praxis, epistemology into sociology. Reason exploded in society, and the enlightenment of the Encyclopedists became the spirit of a whole era where the universal declaration of human rights was issued. In the XIX century, man yielded to nation in the era of nation-building after the fall of big European Empires. Individualism yielded to collectivism via Marxism. Liberalism yielded to utilitarianism via J.S.Mill. Man became a natural

phenomenon via Darwinism and natural sciences. In the 20th century, the outcome of Western Humanism was two World wars, Nazism, Fascism and Communism, which generated a new wave of humanism in Existentialism.

3- Since Nietzsche declared at the end of last century "God is dead, and man is alive," R. Barth declared at the end of this century " Man is dead and the text is alive." Therefore, none lives anymore in European consciousness, neither God nor man. The glorious European experience in modern times ended in Nihilism, Skepticism, Relativism and Agnosticism. Socrates yielded to Protagoras. Almost all contemporary Philosophers observed the end, death in the Soul, for example Erliebnissverloss (Husserl), Umsturtz der Werten (M. Scheler), machines creating gods (Bergson). In this atmosphere, alternatives like new-Thomism, new-Scholasticism , and new-Medivalism were only cries in the desert, like that of John Baptist.

III - The Limits of the Concept of Human Rights in the West

1- In spite of the glorious Western experience concerning the crystallization of the concept of human rights, there are serious limitations of such a concept, which created lot of problems in Praxis. Man was always the Western man, not the Universal Man, in spite of Kant's ethics. He was man within the borders, not outside. Freedom, justice, equality, science, reason and humanism, the major ideals of the enlightenment, were practiced only inside Europe. Oppression, injustice, inequality, magic, superstition and dictatorship, royal or military Etatism were seen as being practiced outside Europe. Western humanism was a double standard of

behavior, a standard in Russia helping the new liberalism and another standard in Bosnia and Herzegovina, left for the most horrible Genocide; a standard in Kuwait for liberation against Iraqi aggression and another standard in Palestine left under Israeli occupation; an intervention in Somalia against drought and civil war, and an abandonment in South Africa of the rights of the Black majority against apartheid.

2- Human rights were conceived as the right of the individual against God and the State. The Rights of Man were conceived contrary to his duties or to the Rights of God. It is true that the universal declaration of rights was for man and the citizen. But the citizen was against the State, the individual against the group, class or society. That is why Western humanism and liberalism ended in individualism and capitalism, switching from freedom and equality to exploitation and social injustice. Man was individualized and separated from the other, the ego excluded the alter.

3- Once the concept of man was cut off from God and the community, it sank into another alternative foundations such as power and interest. Man is the powerful one, eager for political authority even through domination of others. He is also looking out for his own interest, irrespective of the interests of others, even through exploitation. Man was the Roman man of the Imperial Rome, not even the Greek man of the school of Athens. He was more Spartan than Athenian. That is why he discovered his own European mythologies as the carrier of his own national culture, that of the Vikings or the Nibelungen. The past and the present culminated in the 19th century Racist ideologies of the superiority

of the Arians over the Semites, that of Gobineau, E. Renan and L. Gauthier. Nowadays, the dismantling of Nations, still on the edges of tribalism, ended in totalitarianism, and was in turn inherited by new types of Globalism and Cosmopolitanism, where individuals and small nations are completely absorbed.

IV - From Human Rights to Peoples Rights

1- Non-Western Cultures in the Third World, in Africa, Asia and Latin America contributed to the reformulation of the concept of human rights, so gloriously established in Western Culture, by adding to the concept of human rights the concert of peoples Rights. The declaration of Algiers in 1971 completed the European declaration, claiming peoples rights for self-determination and independence as natural rights. National struggle for independence, revolt against occupation, popular resistance against all forms of external domination such as colonialism and imperialism. All are prerogatives of peoples rights. If Colonization was one of the outcomes of European concept of human rights, Decolonization is one of the outcomes of the Third World addition of the concept of peoples rights.

2- The right of peoples to control their own natural resources is also one of the peoples rights against exploitation by the other. The rights of peoples to close their economic system, based on State's control of the means of production, protection of national production against importation, economic planning for the sake of the poor majority. These also belong to peoples rights against the International market economy, World Bank requirements, foreign aid conditions and multi-national corporations. The state of the world economy is now in the hands of the industrial nations . The

rights of the South in the wealth of the North is also a part of peoples historical rights, given the long history of exploitation of the South by the North.

3- However, after the heroic peoples struggle to regain their independence, re-colonization began in a more sophisticated way, not this time through military and direct intervention, but through economic, political and cultural dependency on the West. In the case of Egypt, 70% of its food comes from abroad. Hunger, drought, poverty, underdevelopment, all became major components of the new national independent states. National leaders played the role of the old colonists, enjoyed their privileges and oppressed popular opposition. The state was not the implementation of the revolution. Sectarian tribalism, militarism, and dictatorship were limitations of new national states supported by the West, which even fermented coups d'etat for more cooperative and dependant regimes, in its fear of populism. The West wanted to continue its domination at the hands of national leaders and with the help of ruling elites. The relation between big nations and small ones followed the “law of the tides,” that is, Colonization and De-Colonization, Re-Colonization and De-recolonization.

V - The Argument of Reality

1- The glorious non-Western experience of peoples rights, carried out by Africa, Asia and Latin America also had its limitations, based on the argument of reality. Countries which created the concept of peoples rights are those in which these rights are mostly violated. Peoples are not free when they must fight external occupation, and they are not, when they are oppressed by

internal dictatorships. Indeed, peoples in the Third World have not yet reached a period of enlightenment. They are still making the transition from medievalism to modern times. They are still living under the protection of Tradition. Modernism, imported by the ruling elite from the West, led to Westernization of the elite and, in reaction, to fundamentalism of the masses. Conservatism is the general trend of Tradition. Liberalism is still the option of the elite, not a popular trend.

2- One of the major features of traditions in the Third World is Absolutism, the pyramidal and hierarchical World view. The summit has more value than the base. The top is the absolute positive, while the bottom is the absolute negative. The Ruler has the absolute right to order, while the ruled has the absolute duty to obey. The attributes of God are similar to the attributes of the king: Omnipresence, Omniscience and Omnipotence. Absolutism in Being became Unilateralism in Thought and Action. One opinion is right and all other opinions are wrong, the dialectics of black and while. Absolutism in power and unilateralism in thought go hand in hand to form dictatorships. Democracy requires another Worldview, a horizontal, not a vertical one. The relation between any two is not an up-down but a side-by-side relationship. Under dictatorship, the top is forward, the bottom is backward. In contrast, pluralism requires relativism in point of views, that all opinions are equal, right or wrong. Dialogue between diverging views may lead to a converging view. Peoples in the Third World are still living in an era between Reformation and Renaissance. They have not yet reached modern times.

3- However, there are still some positive elements in this "Third World Medievalism," namely the spirit of solidarity and social groups. The individual, that absolute value in the Western concept of human rights, exists for the group. Compassion, love, sacrifice and mutual aid are common values in traditional societies. Man is not alone, rather he is with God. That means with the Other, both Divine and human. Egoism goes too far, yet altruism is too near. Passion is Reason of a higher order. Intuition plays the role of rational inference. Perception of reality has no less value than mathematisation of nature. Quality precedes quantity. The soul is overwhelmingly present in the body.

VI - Pluralization and Universalism: A Minimum Standard

1- Beyond cultural conditioning in the concept of Human Rights, there is still Universalism, based on pluralization and forming a minimum standard. After all, Western Culture produced Kant and Fichte, the Sein-Sollen and the Ideal. The French revolution produced the ideals of Enlightenment, that is, man, reason , freedom, equality, social justice, science of nature and progress in history. Each European country contributed to European culture, exemplified by the social contract of Locke in England, History as the story of liberty by Croce in Italy, God and the people via the Slavophile in Russia. Why then the failure of nerves and the nervous breakdowns of Adorno and Habermas in the "Dialectics of Enlightenment", Why cutting one's own throat? The ideals of the Enlightenment can be renewed, completed and universalized outside the borders of Europe. If God is dead and man is dead, Humanity is still alive!

2- The Third World contributed to the world cultures by offering the concept of Unity, the Unity of God, the unity of Nature, the unity of mankind. This concept of unity, called "Tawhid" in Islam, is reflected in human life as the affirmation of human freedom without any oppression, as human equality free from racism, and as human justice exempt from social injustices. The good deed is the pivot of belief and the criterion of faith. Respect for life, against killing and extermination, is a major component of cultures in the Third World. Social solidarity, as it appeared in the Ujama of Nyerere, is a reflection of the collective spirit in Africa. Consciencisme of N'Khruma, reflects a whole World view, that the world is lived by human consciousness, vital reason is no less important than discursive and abstract reason. The affirmation of cultural identity preserves individuals and peoples from imitation, dependency and Westernization.

3- Therefore, each culture, that of the center, as well as those of the periphery, can contribute to the minimum standard as a converging common goal. All cultures are alike in value. There is no "Culture" with a Capital C and then "cultures" with small cs. The relation between culture of the center and cultures in the periphery has to come to an end. The complex of superiority of the center vis à vis the periphery, and the complex of inferiority of the center, have to be cured of colour, race, language, ethnicity. These are not parts of the minimum standard. Likewise, power and interest are not permanent elements in a human and universal value-system. Pluralism is the path towards universalism. History of cultures is only the point of departure for the universality of the norm. Individual rights are part of peoples rights. Actions for human rights are the

completion of the universal declaration of human rights. A redistribution of world wealth between nations, in a more equitable way, by sharing information, contributing in human creativity, rewriting the story of mankind in a more just way. All are components of the minimum standard. Didn't Christ sit down and wash the feet of his disciples, to give them a lesson of modesty?

VII - Objections and Answers

1- Peoples Rights are not contrary to individual rights, but a completion of them. Both are the heritage of Western and non-Western experiences. The violation of human rights are done by the ruling elite and then justified by some of the intellectual elite, in all cultures and nations. Accusing non-Western cultures, namely Islam, of violations of human rights is a cultural prejudice, a stereotypical image in the Western Culture vis à vis non-Western cultures. Islam as a religion of nature is not arrogance but a judgement uttered by philosophers of religion. Islam is a religion in which humanity is exempt from original sin, from need of a salvation theory, or from any mediation between man and God. As for the rights of women in Muslim societies, Egyptian women had the right to vote before many Western societies, France for instance.

2- The fact that the Third Word is still passing through a period between Reformation and Renaissance does not justify torture, opression and violations of human rights, but a recognition of historical transition would help Western Orientalism in uttering more just judgements, taking the historical context into consideration. A comparison between actual modern European societies with the actual non-Western societies would be unjust

because both societies do not live the same historical period. Some Third World societies may still live the era of inquisition. At least four centuries separate the two societies. That does not imply acceptance of inquisition, but struggle against it. Correcting unfair comparison in theory does not mean yielding to oppression and dictatorship in practice.

3- The concept of minimum standard does not mean a compromise with the violation of human or of peoples rights, but accomplishment of agreement on the minimum between all human beings and nations. This would include Solvitur in Excelsis, for instance, the unification of cultures from mutual stereotyped images, diffused in the mass-media and still taught in educational textbooks; the implementation of U.N.resolutions in all cases to a country like Iraq as well as to Israel, concerning the deportation of the Palestinians. Presupposing that a country or a culture does not struggle against the violation of human rights is giving one's self the privilege of the title of a human being and withholding it from others. In Islam, whoever kills one man, it is as if he has killed the whole of humanity. Likewise, whoever gives life to one man, it is as if he has given life to the whole of humanity.

4- Insisting that the concept of human rights can be understood only as a legal concept, not as a perception and a Worldview, may be motivated by an unconscious desire to hide the ethno-centric foundation of the concept of human rights in Western culture. Depth analysis of concepts from within may reveal the foundation of the external implementation of the concept from without. Why hiding the inside and be satisfied with the outside?

5- Argumentum and hominem is lack of love and modesty, of charity and benevolence. Why antagonizing individuals, peoples and cultures, as if the antagonizer is absolutely right and the antagonized is absolutely wrong? Has humanity reached a new era of mutual respect between cultures, going beyond bigotry and arrogance, or is humanity still the victim of the past, the historical power struggle between the master and the slave? Sometimes individuals, peoples and cultures need to be cured first from the heritage of the past, the interests of the present, in order to look for a better future for a sane humanity.

SELF-IMAGE AND THE IMAGE OF THE OTHER

The unconscious prototype between The Arab world, Muslim societies and U.S.A

Some Reflections

1 - Introduction: Method and Object

Political relations between societies cannot be determined ideologically since ideologies are in a way an abstract layer of ideas, super-imposed on social structures. The fall of ideology in the last three years proves that ideologies, including Perestroika and Glasnost, are more related to political discourse than to social realities. This discrepancy is not only related to the second and third World but also to the first World, whether inside, in the Los Angeles riots, or outside, in the double standard ethics of the Gulf War on one hand, and in Palestine or Bosnia-Herzegovina on the other hand. Ideologies belonged to the Colonization-Decolonization era. They are a historical legacy. They ended up playing the role of camouflage, a cover-up for dissident social realities.

Neither can political relations between societies be analyzed only through statistics and raw figures regarding trade and exchange, US interests, foreign aid, military support, political alliances. This material level of analysis is more operational than essential, more accidental than substantial. The same discrepancy may exist between strong interest connection and real socio-cultural disconnection. What occurs on the surface through USIS

(*) Middle East Association of North America. Portland, Oregon. 28-31 October 1992, special session "Islamic Societies and the US: Challenges of Mutual Understanding".

communications is disconfirmed by what lays in depth in mass psychology and popular culture. The first analysis is purely quantitative, while the second is more qualitative. Statics are never complete. They are based on samples, representative or Not. They can be silent, without any significance, or interpreted entirely differently . Numbers can mislead. They are a self sufficient world.

Secondary literature is a whole world unto itself. It can become a substitute for researching the objects themselves. It has its own logic, its own veracity and its own criteria. Means become ends. Conflicting theories debate with each other, and the original topic is completely forgotten. This time the whole of political relations between societies becomes the victim, not of ideologies or statistics but of the social sciences. The purpose of research is no longer to know the topic, but to verify the theory. The immense secondary literature makes it difficult to be absorbed or used. The simplicity of the object is sacrificed for the complexity of the theory.

That is why the reflective method is used to analyze in-depth political relations between societies as living experiences. The scholar is also a citizen. He is describing his own predicament. The topic reveals itself to him as significance. His long engagement with it permits him to see it globally, with all its dimensions, not only inter-State dimensions, but also inter-Culture and inter-Peoples dimensions. Political relations between societies, leadership's perceptions and people's motivations and social movements, can only be known through intensive observation of the self and of the other as well. Reflective method, analysis of living experiences, depth analysis, intensive observation, intuition of essences, all are components of the phenomenological method.

The object of these reflections is “Islamic societies and the US: challenges of mutual understanding.” It is already loaded with non-statistical subjects such as Islamic challenges and understanding. US relations with other parts of the world (Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America) are not challenges but only common interests. Guerrilla movements and liberation theology in Latin America are either stopped or pacified. Africa is hit by draught, hunger and tribal civil wars. Africa for the Africans does not necessarily imply self-definition through differentiation from the other. Asia found its own way, through development and industrialization in Newly industrializing Countries, to encircle Japan, supported by US capital, technology and trade. Only the Arab and Muslim World is still a potential challenge to the US, through Arab Nationalism, a left-over from the heroic sixties, or through Islamic fundamentalism, a more radical and more mass-oriented movement. The stumbing block to an actual one-polar World, along with the end of history theory, may come from the Arab and World, in spite of the greater Israel, the first and the second Gulf wars and Arab and Muslim dependence on US aid and policy.

Since political consciousness, whether in Muslim societies or in the US, is the realization in the present of historical consciousness, the analysis of political relations between US and Muslim societies is deep-rooted in history. Political perceptions of leadership and of masses, as well, are the accumulation of the long historical experience of the two. History is the memory of politics. They can be seen in history, past, present and future.

II - Past Mutual Perception of US and Arab/Muslim World

American perception of the Arab and Muslim World is mostly and deeply negative for peoples, cultures and leadership. Even the pro-American Arabs and Muslims are those who have inherited the Western Roman Empire . Initially they conquered the West in the Roman colonies of Syria, Egypt, North-Africa and Spain, followed by Eastern Europe from Turkey. Islam in the ancient time was a historical competitor to the West. Arabism in modern times, during the era of decolonization, was also antagonistic to the West. The Crusades did not succeed in liberating the South Mediterranean Roman Empire including the Holy Land and Jerusalem. Before the occupation of Palestine and the creation of Israel, Islam and the West dwelled in history as two crossing swords, around the Mediterranean. Once the African shore is victorious it stretches to the European shore, as in Middle ages. Once the European shore is victorious, it stretches to the African shore as in modern times. What about the future? Is there an emerging uni-polar World headed by US, or is Islam resurging? This is the present anguish and the future challenge between US and Muslim societies.

In the Western perception, the Arab and Muslim World lost its cultural competition and its political battle in the several invasions by Tatars and Mongols from the East, and in modern imperialism from the West . “Geographic discoveries” meant the expansion of Europe outside its natural borders and the encirclement of the Arab and Muslim World in Africa and Asia. Turks took revenge in Eastern Europe, but lost the first world war, losing its Muslim Empire and becoming a Western country after the

revolution of Ataturk in 1923. Modern European invasions occupied North Africa, Egypt, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, the Gulf, India. Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. Russian invasions occupied Muslims kingdoms in central Asia. After decolonization, new nation-states were built, becoming rnore and more dependent on the big powers. The revolution was unable to transform itself into a state. These new nation-states became burdens, more and more dependent in food and primary needs. The previous colonizer came back after being called in. Independent states began to lose their national sovereignty. What respect is due to such dependent states and hungry peoples?

The ugly Arab in London continued deepening that negative image of Arab and Muslim societies—an image of Wealth and ignorance, sensual pleasure and Harem, indulgence of the elite and poverty of the masses—so that any social or political unrest is seen as terrorism, violence and violation of human rights. Historical excellent performance in sciences came from the Greeks, from without, not from within. A complex of superiority began to be built up in the West and another complex of inferiority began to be planted in Muslim societies, as with the second Gulf war against the Intifada.

Arab/Muslim perception of the West in general, and of the US in particular, is also anchored in history, via the Crusades in the middle ages, and colonialism in modern times. America is the big slave-trader, capturing slaves from Africa and selling them in the South, with Slavery for the whole continent of Africa, and genocide for indigenous peoples, red Indians; racism based on color, white versus black. These patterns created a deep perception that Red

Indians are doomed to reservations. The melting pot did not occur, only ethnic multiple groups, with the WASP on the top and blacks, Chicanos, and red Indians on the bottom. America is a juxtaposition of Chinatown, Germantown, Italiantown, and Blackstreet. The white man comes to black Africa, to yellow Asia, to the non-white World. Negros are musicians, dancers, and athletes but not Einstein, Marconi, or Pasteur.

Americans are cowboys in domestic affairs as well as in international politics. Law is power, power is law. European bandits, adventurers, criminals, and outlaws were the first immigrants. America in international relations is dealing with peoples as the cowboys deal with their cattle, or with other cowboys. Violence is the secret word, kidnapping heads of states, invading countries, fermenting conspiracies. Even the sheriff disappeared. Even the good cowboy, the gentleman, the defender of right, the honorable all disappeared . The Declaration of independence became one more sheet, hung in the Philadelphia city hall. The Liberty Bell and statue of Liberty became sounds of canons and bombs and rocket-launchers. Violations of human and people's rights are everywhere, in Palestine, in Bosnia - Herzegovina, in South Africa, in Somalia, not only in Kuwait. This double-standard behavior in international relations reveals the violation of one’s own principles of liberalism

III - Present Mutual Perception

America's perceptions of Arab and Muslim societies are at present focused on Oil, Israel's security, investments and alliances. Oil in Arab and Muslim countries represents more than the half of

the World's reserves. The 1973 October War and oil embargo are still too near to forget. In the era of European unity and Japan's surplus, America likes to hold both Europe and Japan by the neck, in order to be the unchallenged sole World power. The previous pretext was the threatening Russian rival, the current pretext is the threatening neighboring Iraq, a leftover of Arab nationalism of the sixties and personal ambition of Iraqi leadership to succeed Nasser of Egypt and to champion Arab Nationalism. First, America pushed Iraq to make war against revolutionary and anti-American Iran. Second, when Iraq became too strong, America pushed Iraq to make war against Kuwait to get rid of him, to hold the oil fields and to be the big brother in the Gulf, assuming its security, stability and formal independence. Petrodollars were swallowed in the war. Rich oil countries became indebted to Western banks, asking for loans.

Iraqi military machinery was destroyed to assure Israel's security in the era of the creation of the Greater Israel. Egypt got out of the Arab-Israel battle after the Camp David accord. Libya was toppled in the Le Curby affair, and hit by the blockade in order to make it kneel down. Syria finally agreed to enter into peace negotiations without any guarantees for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. Yemen was threatened by Saudi Arabia on the pretext of a border conflict. America guarantees Israel's security and military supremacy. Nuclear, ballistic and chemical weapons are destroyed in Iraq, maintained in Israel and prohibited in the rest of the Arab and Muslim world. Palestinian self-determination is only a local administration. Natural resources, sovereignty, security and foreign representation are excluded. However, Israel’s possible limited withdrawal is a formal one, a public relation

campaign to obtain American aid to settle Jewish Russian immigrants. Israel is the strongest sectarian Jewish State, in the midst of small divided sectarian and ethnic Muslim, Copt, Sunni, Shi'ite, Kurd, Druze, Arab, and Kabbill states. Greater Israel would be the historical substitute for the former Arab and Muslim World

America sees the Middle East as the ideal place for investment. American companies are inheriting the public sector. Privatiation has become equal to Americanization. Private banks are outside the control of National banks. They withdrew from national savings more than they brought in. Egyptian savings abroad are almost equal to Egyptian debts. The whole national state has fallen into the hands of the World Economy Independent states have become dependent. National sovereignty has yielded to international markets and division of labor. Planning has stopped for the implementation of World bank requirements for free market economy.

The Arab and Muslim perception of America is of an Imperial power inheriting Rome, the middle age church, European empires inside, and colonies outside. America after the Second World War played and still plays the role of European traditional imperial powers, England, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Belgium and Russia. The popular image of the US is the World police man.

America has treated the Arab and Muslim world as colonies. It replaced Britain in the establishment and the consolidation of the state of Israel. In all the wars of Israel against Arab countries, except that of 1956, America was on the side of Israel. America guarantees Israeli military supremacy and victory. During the decolonization era, America was against Arab Nationalism,

embodied in Nasserism. It allied itself to conservative and reactionary Arab and Muslim political regimes (Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan), to surround Arab progressive and socialist ones by forming pacts such as the Baghdad pact and the following Islamic pact. America was against the realization of Arab aspirations for unity and socialism, conceiving Pan-Arabism as an enemy. After Nasser's death and the dismantling of Arabism, regionalism took over. Regional Arab states conceived their interest in their alliance with the US. America inherited Arab independent national states, plying Nasser's role in reverse.

IV - Possible Mutual Perception in the Future

Since the whole World system is radically changing, and a new World system is taking shape, a new mutual perceptions for common understanding between US and Arab Muslim societies are possible. American perceptions of the middle East can be highly respectable, given the historical heritage of the area of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Assyria, Canaan. This historical dimension in the Arab and Muslim World can satisfy the a historical American consciousness . The new World can orient to the ancient World, not antagonizing it. The Historical inferiority complex can be cured and compensated by present economic and military performance . A glorious present can be a sublimation of a miserable past. America, in dealing with the Middle East, deals with a history which America lacks. Historical jealousy can switch to historical complementarity. Bush or Clinton speak to Hamurabi, Moses or Tutankhamun.

The Middle East throughout history, from ancient times till contemporary Pan-Islamism or Pan-Arabism, was one unified area.

If politics disunite, culture reunites. All efforts to create regional, sectarian or ethnic states are vain, since people in the area are deeply one people. America itself lived and endured the experience of unity till the Civil War. It supports European unity. It calls for the unity and integrity of every nation. It hailed German reunification. It did not oppose Yemeni reunification. The Arab World is one. The Muslim World is also one. The two are intertwined circles. If America follows the natural course of history, it will adopt a unifying policy in the Middle East.

After the fall of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, America became the champion of the World. Is it possible for a champion to be alone? Championship needs permanent challenges and competitions. The Arab and Muslim World can play the role of the other pole in American consciousness. Islam is not an enemy, as clearly seen now in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Islam can present a new World order free from racism, hegemony, exploitation, and violence. Islam can present a universal code of ethics where all nations are equal in human and people's rights. The new pole is not antagonistic, neither in hot nor in cold wars. Islam is the mirror which reflects the image of the other, a sister-soul, a saviour in moments of distress, as now, for a Western consciousness crippled by relativism, scepticism and Nihilism.

The Arab and Muslim World has material and moral potentialities that make it a self-reliant World, with its Natural resources, energy, investments, manpower, vast markets, all the prerequisites for sustainable development. Why should the Arab and Muslim World be absorbed into the World market? It has all

the potentialities to be an independent economic power, just as the US, Europe, Japan, and the Newly Industrialized Countries. Why should the former center of the historical World become the periphery of the new World?

Arab perceptions of America can also be changed, and America has the potential elements for such a change. The American revolution is based on the principles of the French revolution, itself the embodiment of the ideals of the Enlightenment, which is in the heart of every Arab and Muslim. The dawn of an Arab modern Renaissance has its first roots in the same source. Lafayette went to America, Napoleon came to Egypt. Thomas Paine wrote “The Age of Reason,” just as al-Tahtawi wrote “Manahing al-Albab”. The Declaration of Independence is similar to Arab writings since the last century . Between the US and the Arab and Muslim Worlds, there is a common criterion or principle of the revolution and declaration of independence. Why could not Arabs and Muslims be an equal partner with the US? Why could not both share equally the heritage of man, being the two existing poles in the New World Order? Arabs and Muslims in America now form an important group. Islam is becoming the third religion in number after Christianity and Judaism. Islam became an American religion after being adopted by the Nation of Islam.

Is it possible that the US and the Arab and Muslim Worlds both share the same heritage of democracy and liberalism? America is proud of the very same ideals to which the Arab and Muslim World is attracted. Is it possible to practice Christ’s dictum, "Love thy neighbor?" Is it possible for America to be modest and humble?

Is it possible for the Arab and Muslim World to present to the whole World its universal code of ethics, which joins the universal declaration of human rights and the universal declaration of people's rights as well?

It may be possible to change mutual perceptions, from the antagonistic past and the conflicting present, to a more comprehensive future. That may be one underlying element in the New World Order, still being shaped.

HISTORICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ARAB AND AMERICAN SOCIETIES:

PAST MOTIVATIONS, PRESENT PERCEPTIONS AND FUTURE INCLINATIONS

(summary)

History is not only facts, events and chronicles. These are the manifestations of motivations and mutual perceptions in history between peoples and cultures. Historical reductionism, transformations and perceptions are the carriers of living and independent essences in time. A static concept of history may be useful for schools and museums, while a dynamic one is behind decision making and international relations.

A- Past motivations

Motivations behind historical relations between Arab and American societies may be felt as follows:

1- The simultaneous fall of Grenada and the discovery of America in 1492 gave the feeling that the end of an era, Islam in Western Europe, is congruent with the beginning of the New World. The new world inherited the old world, represented by Islam and by the same ideals: Adventure, science, navigation, sense of mission. The sunset in the old world and the sunrise in the new world create certain feelings of envy, competition and animosity between the two worlds.

(*) Salzburg Seminar. 16-19 September, 1993.

2- Modern Islamic enlightenment and Arab renaissance were due to the impact of Western enlightenment, especially in France, thanks to Al-Tahtawi in Egypt and Khayr Al-Din Al-Tunsi in Tunis. Liberty, equality and fraternity were greatly admired as modern formulations of Islamic ethics and law, as presented earlier by the Mu'tazilites and Usul Al-Fiqh: reason, freedom, nature, man, history, justice and rational principles. These are the basis of Islamic law. The Declaration of Independence in America is also the embodiment of the Ideal of the Enlightenment. Who is the saviour of the world: Islam in Arab and Muslim societies, or liberalism in American society?

3- Islam, as the main culture in the Arab and Muslim world, is a universalistic religion without boundaries of ethnicities, of caste or of social classes. Islam stretches over Africa and Asia, where coloured peoples are. Islam is also expanding in white Europe and black America. The American melting pot was the Ideal. The new world was an Island for all the persecuted, was the motivation of the emigrants. America fought its civil war to end slavery. To what extent must the two kinds of universalism compete, if one universalism is equated to hegemony?

4- Since European modern times, the Muslim world began to be colonized in the name of geographic discoveries, surrounding the Muslim world from the sea, from South Africa to South East Asia in the 14th century. Another wave of colonialism came through the Mediterranean to the Arab world two centuries later, beginning with Algeria in 1830. In the twentieth century, the Arab and Muslim world accomplished a huge process of Decolonization and

even of unification, through Pan-Arabism, Pan-Islamism, the Afro-Asian solidarity movement, positive neutralism, and the non-aligned movement. While the Arab and Muslim world was making its modem history, America was stagnant in its isolationism.

5- After the second world war, America got out of its isolation to inherit the old decaying colonialism, led by Great Britain. It tried to recolonize the Arab and Muslim world, whether by military pacts, by economic exploitation or by dependent political regimes. A surmounting antagonism to America, to American interventionism and to American life-style began all over the Arab and Muslim world. Since the New World is now recolonizing the old world, a second wave of decolonization is foreseen.

B- Present Perceptions

Social perceptions are norms of behavior and political decisions for the ruling power and the masses. At the present time, mutual perceptions between the Arab/Muslim world and American societies, the perception of the self as well as the perception of the others, can be drawn as follows:

1- The Arab and Muslim world is seeing itself as the carrier of a world culture from Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia and Canaan. It gave the whole world religion, science and philosophy. It is the cradle of Monotheism and the birthplace of all the prophets. America is perceived as an “a-cultural” and “a-historical” society, without roots in history. It lacks historical consciousness and therefore it lacks political depth. However, America is perceiving itself as a superpower, making laws, preserving international order against the underdeveloped, disobedient and uncivilized world.

2- The Arab and Muslim world perceives itself as an independent world. It is so huge in economic and human potentialities that it should not be dependent on others. America is trying to influence this world, making it a periphery to the American center in one polar world, in one helio-centric system. America, after the downfall of the socialist block, would like to assume its role as the only superpower, unchallenged by any possible poles, namely the Arab and Muslim world.

3- Arab and Muslim world perceives America as a new hegemonic power, seeking control of Arab/Muslim oil and wealth. It destroyed Iraq, became the military and industrial power occupying the Gulf and Arabian peninsula because it had the biggest reservoir of oil, attracted investment of Arab wealth in the West, occupied Somalia, blockaded Libya, threatened Iran and Sudan, and swallowed Egypt. However, America perceives the Arab world as a source of energy, a strategic area for American power in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and in the Gulf. It is a part of Pax Americana.

4- The Arab and Muslim world sees itself as the Victim of a colonial settling regime in Palestine. Zionism is a nineteenth century Western national and racial ideology, invading the Arab and Muslim world. It is an expression of Euro-centrism and Ethno--centrism, while Britain followed by America, perceives Israel as a Western foothold and vanguard of Western civilization and influence in the very center of the Arab world.

5- The Arab and Muslim world feels that he is the victim of injustices and double standard American policies: One standard in

Palestine, violation by Israel of UN resolutions, and another standard in Iraq, using force to implement UN resolutions, and in Bosnia-Herzegovenia, leaving the Serbs and the Croats aggression without punishment or intervention. While America perceives the Arab and Muslim world as weak, impotent and exempt of moral values, deserving to be marginalized and confined to its own geographic borders outside Europe.

C - Future Inclinations

However pessimistic past motivations and present perceptions may be, future inclinations, if well and fully invested, can give some hopeful signs in the following directions:

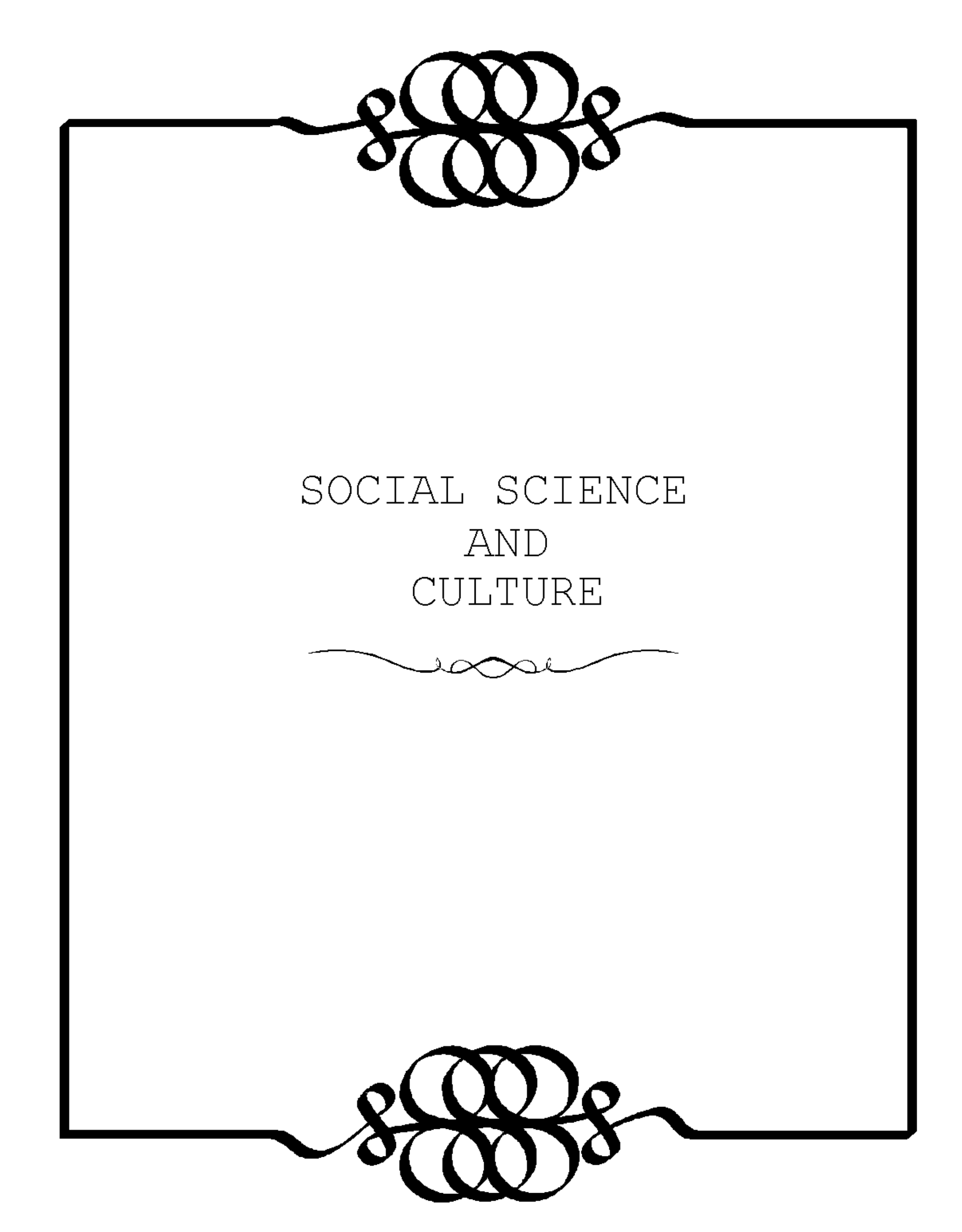
1- Getting rid of the past and mutual stereotyped images from the educational system and the mass-media, which encouraged hatred and antagonism; and substituting for them other more real images of the historical contributions of both Arab/Muslim and American societies in making the world of science and culture.

2- Feeling and behaving as equal partners in the same world, without upper-hand and lower-hand, center and periphery, superiority-inferiority complex, and assuming some modesty and the spirit of charity.

3- Liberalism is not the cultural monopoly of the West, being proud of it for itself and excluding other peoples and cullures from its achievements. Liberalism is a trend in every culture, in different forms, linked to individualism, egoism, racism and capitalism in the West; and bound to communalism, altruism, humanism and socialism in non-Western cultures.

4- The world is plural, multi-centred and diversified. It is impossible to impose on this diversity a hegemonic model, the American way of life, or Western world view. American/Westem pluralism on surface, combined with unilateralism underneath, has to be counter-balanced by pluralism in depth and diversity of models.

5- Co-operation and converging efforts to build a new world for a better and decent life for all is better than antagonism, destruction and exclusiveness. Struggling together against world hunger, poverty, drought, pollution, waste, scarcity, injustice, double standards, insecurity, aggression, oppression and desertification is a common cause for all peoples and cultures. To be saved, Humanity needs a new universal covenant agreed upon by a multi-polar world.



SOCIAL SCIENCE AND CULTURE

NEW SOCIAL SCIENCE

Some Reflections

1. Introduction: History at a Turning Point.

1-1. The foundation of a "New Social Science" may seem ambitious, since the time of new sciences has already passed. The previous "New Sciences" included the "Ars Magna" of Raymond Lulle in the 13^{th} century, the "Novum Organum" of Francis Bacon, and "La Science Admirable" of Rene Descartes in the 17^{th} century, the "New Science" of J.B. Vico in the 18th century. They marked the beginning of European consciousness, trying to lay the ground for a new worldview instead of the Medieval one, to found new mathematical, physical or human sciences as substitutes for medieval logic, physics and metaphysics, following the strong impulse of secularization of medieval disciplines. The Center of the world switched from God to Man. The source of knowledge is no longer the Sacred Books, but Nature as an Open Book. The method of knowledge is no longer exegesis but experience and induction. In short, truth does not come from Revelation but from the world. Scriptural Arguments yielded to rational and experimental arguments. Articles of faith were subject to principles of Reason. “Les Anciens” lost and “Les Modernes” won. Therefore, the foundation of new social sciences at the beginning of European Modern Times was rightly justified and historically understandable.

(*) International Seminar, “Inter-Regional Dialogue on Progress, Democracy and Critical Thought. 1990, Caracas, Venezuela; Previously presented at United Nations University as a research project, Tokyo, 1987.

1-2. The motivation for founding the New Sciences has continued. Almost every new philosophical system has become a new science, for example "Cartesianism" and the science of subjectivity; "Hegelianism" and the science of dialectics; Marxism and the science of historical materialism. A Philosophy can be itself a theory of science such as the philosophy of Fichte. A system can also be a science such as positivism. A combination between Theory and Method can also be the science of science such as phenomenology or Structuralism. However, the European era of new sciences is closed, in spite of the crisis of human and social sciences. In the post-structuralist era, with its overwhelming spirit of analysis and decomposition (Derrida), the ambition of founding new sciences faded. The zeal for a new era died out, so that only a "Retour aux sources" can solve the actual crisis, a rediscovery of the subjectivity, not only as "Cogito" but also as "Cogitatum." Phenomenology may have been the last cry of an agonized European Consciousness.

1-3. Therefore, the mood of inventing new sciences was linked to a new historical cycle, the European Consciousness in Modern Times. The mood faded because the historical phase ended. Several philosophers of history, such as Spengler and Toynbee, witnessed and declared such an end. Simultaneously however, another cycle is beginning outside Europe in another cultural consciousness of historical societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A global Third world consciousness took birth during the period of decolonization. A new world consciousness began to formulate in the UN General Assembly and other UN Specialized Agencies, indicating a new world consensus to liquidate the

heritage of colonization. A new world Power, representing more than 80% of the world population, came onto the political scene, with near unanimity, declaring the birth of a new moral consciousness for mankind. New revolutions in the Third world (Iran, Philippines, Sudan, Haiti, Nicaragua, Afghan Resistance) helped crystalyze this new Moral power via the non-alignment movement, the solidarity movement, the tri-continental Revue, the Third World Forum, the Third World Academy. The new emerging world is not only a moral power, but also a huge economic Power, though misused or underused, drawn from energy, oil-wealth, vast markets, strategic areas, labor, and human resources. In spite of the end of the romantic era of the Third World, the disappearance of its charismatic leaders, the counter-revolutions, and the setbacks of the 1960's and the 1980's, the Third World is still carrying on a new world consciousness, revealing a new historical phase in the development of world history. The call for a “New Social Science” is just the formulation of this new phase in world history, the end one historical consciousness and the beginning of another.

1-4. In spite of the ambitious title, the "New social Science" is becoming a reality, since many scholars in many regions of the world are trying to build it up. Once the object is lived by several scholars, living in different places and belonging to several cultures, it means that the object is real. A whole research-project can be conceived, to review the literature already produced on this topic, giving the new social science its historical background. Whether in the Center, namely Europe, or in the periphery (Africa, Asia and Latin America) huge efforts were made to build national sociology as an alternative to Western sociology. Critique of Euro-

centricity and Westernization became very common. New alternative concepts, theories, methods and results are now beginning to take shape. “A New Social Science,” as a main focus, would help in synthesizing all previous partial conclusions into one vision. Differences in approach and analysis can be tolerated for the sake of unity of purpose and intention.

1-5. The New Social Science is not only an effort to make the world scientific consciousness more balanced, by means of Third World scholars contributing in the formation of New Social Science in a new historical phase. This represents not only a contribution of Third World scholars to formulate their own social realities with their own conceptual tools and methods, but it is also a theoretical contribution in Western social science itself. The permanent and continuous conceptual and methodological crises so dominant in Western social science have always found their solutions from outside, whether from the natural sciences or from mathematical sciences. Borrowing solutions for the crises from inside is a short-term solution. Borrowing solutions from the outside may be a long-term solution. The history of European consciousness has always borrowed such radical solutions, whether from the Ancient East via Greece, or from the Middle East via Spain, Southern Italy or Turkey. Once it stopped borrowing due to the acquired sense of pride, became arrogant and reached its peak in Euro-centrism, based not only on ego-centrism but often on racism, the global crisis appeared. Is it possible that European consciousness can escape its closed circle and again begin borrowing new incentives for survival from a non-European Consciousness crystallizing in Africa, Asia and Latin America?

2. Aspects, Axes and Fronts

2-1. The “New Social Science” has two aspects, negative and positive. The negative aspect is the critique of actual Western social science, a critique which has been emerging over several decades, whether inside Europe by dissenting Western social scientists, or outside Europe by national social scientists in the Third World. A review of the literature of this negative aspect can be a project by itself, in order to build upon what has been accomplished till now. A reassessment of such literature would synthesize, globalize and complete the actual results. From that synthesis, the hidden creative structure may appear.

2-2. The positive aspect is an effort to go beyond criticism in order to present new alternative concepts, theories, methods and results. Defining the Self through the negation of the Other is only a reaction, not an action. This positive aspect is the real challenge to Western social sciences. More representative data analysis can be prepared in order to build a more balanced theory applicable in various Western and non-Western societies. A more global history can provide social science with more varied data, taking into consideration the whole development of mankind. Less formal analysis and less model-building can be used in order to reorient the national researchers to direct perceptions of realities. Case studies, field work and experimental data can become more relevant, once they are guided by common ideas and interpreted in an adequate theoretical framework. Then researcher will no longer be a stranger to his field, but a part of it. His theory will come from his praxis. He will be both observer and observed.

2-3. Since the New Social Science would express the state of the art at a turning point, the transformation of world history from one cultural consciousness to another, it would reflect itself in two major axes, as dialectics between the Self and the other, between the new historical consciousness and the old one. Since this dialectics between the Self and Other was historically a conflict between the oppressed and the oppressor, between the colonized and the colonizer, between the periphery and the center, it becomes a liberating dialectic in which the unity between logos and praxis occurs. All previous Third World political Rhetoric would be reassessed, formalized and restructured. All previous efforts: "consciencisme;" "Discours sur le colonialism," "les damnés de la Terre," "Ujama,"African Socialism, Arab socialism, the Green book, black theology , philosophy of Liberation, philosophies of Revolutions, ideologies of Renaissance, reform Movements, are pre-scientific formulations of this liberating dialectics of the Self from the Other. Thus the rhetoric used by political leaders and national heroes is transformed into the new social science as a rigorous science.

2-4. Therefore, the New Social Science has two major fronts. Both are cultural fronts, to review the intellectual and conceptual reservoir of the Self, its traditional value system, as well as its newly acquired alienated conceptual framework. The first is the reconstruction of the tradition of the self as a liberating tradition. The second is the reduction of the culture of the Other to its proper size. Theoretically and philosophically, affirmation precedes negation. However, historically and existentially, negation precedes

affirmation. Negation is a negative affirmation, just as affirmation is an affirmative negation .

2-5. Since the liberating dialectics of the self from the Other occurs in time and space, the historical moment or the contextual reality in which dialectics occur can be seen as a third axis in which the first and the second axes interact, and in which the contradiction is solved. Consequently, there is no one formulation for the New Social Science. It can be formulated differently from one region to another. It can also be differently conceptualized, according to the degree of the negative impact of Western concepts and methods in different parts of the Third world. However, all formulations would have one unifying spirit and intention, to liberate the Self from the conceptual domination of the Other, and to begin with the existential reality of the self as lived by indigenous peoples and cultures.

3. The Liberation From the Other.

3-1. Philosophically and theoretically, the assertion of the Self precedes the relation to the Other. However, practically and existentially, the liberation from the other precedes the assertion of the Self, because the Self cannot assert itself without being liberated from the Other. Thus the liberation from the Other is a certain kind of negative self-assertion. If the Self is crystallized in the Third world consciousness, the Other has already been congealed in the European consciousness.

3-2. "European Consciousness" emerged conceptually in contemporary philosophy (Husserl, Bergson, M. Scheler). It is not only a subject but also an object, as if European Consciousness has split and was divided into two. The objectivation of European

consciousness is already a sign of the beginning of its own history, a memorial for its five hundred years of existence. The West is only the civilizational and historical site in which "European Consciousness" took birth. It is not only a perceptual tool but also a perceptual object. It underlies the political and the economic Europe.

3-3. European Consciousness is not an absolute one, not a model of all cultural consciousness and equal to a human consciousness per se. It originated and developed in time and space. It has its origins and development, its beginning and its end. It can not only be seen as independent, but it also seized by hand and extracted from Third world Consciousness. It is neither a myth, since it is behind Western sciences and disciplines, nor a projection from Third World Consciousness, since it is lived, featured and reacted against.

3-4. European Consciousness De-mythologized Concerning the origins of European Consciousness, a conspiracy of silence was drawn in order to show its unprecedented innovation and its absolute creativity. European Consciousness began as an overwhelming and spreading consciousness, to cover and absorb the Ancient world. Once the existence of the non-Western world is denied as an independent existence, no recognition of it as the origin of Western Consciousness would be conceivable. The New Social Science tries to end this conspiracy of silence in order to discover the non-Western origins of Western culture. It is not a pretension, a reaction or a counter-movement, but a purely historical research substantiated by historical evidences. The two well-recognized sources, the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman are

still Western in origin. The Egyptian origin behind the Greek source, the Persian, the Mesopotamian, the Indian, the Chinese and the Central Asian origins of Western culture are rarely mentioned, nor do they became a major field of research having independent Institutes, Research Centers and Awards.

3-5. The point of departure can be seen in the "Cogito". Man is the center of the Universe. Interiority prevails over exteriority, method takes priority. Thus the verification of tradition according to human means of knowheldge, reason or experience, is necessary in order to purify the human mind from all presuppositions, prejudgements and pre-conceived ideas. Doubt is a methodological step towards certainty. Human knowledge substitutes for divine knowledge. Since there are only two means of knowledge, Reason and Experience, European consciousness began its theory of Knowledge by splitting in two directions, Rationalism (Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Malebranche) and Empiricism (Bacon, Lock, Hobbes, Hume). Reality was either conceived or perceived. In both cases, Epistemology preceded Ontology. The New European Consciousness became synonymous with Subjectivity, and Subjectivity became the "New Science." However, each trend antagonized the other, making itself the whole knowledge and consequently the whole Reality. European Consciousness appeared from the beginning as a "Bouche Béante", a "Yawning Mouth," one jaw upwards (Rationalism, Formalism, Idealism, Subjectivism) and the other jaw downwards (Empiricism, Materialism. Realism, Objectivism). Critical philosophy (Kant) tried to link both in one trend, juxtaposing Sensation to Understanding and Reason, or Analytics, to Dialectics, the a posteriori to the a priori, in one

transcendental philosophy. However, knowledge was sacrificed for religion, epistemology yielded to axiology. The "Pure Reason" was destroyed in order to defend the "Practical Reason". Absolute Idealism (Hegel) tried once to solve the dilemma of the Dichotomy, the architectonic and mechanical unity, by introducing the dialectics and the passage from one stage to another. Thus the concept appears first in sensation, then in understanding and finally in reason. Since man was absorbed in the whole, and individual consciousness became a cultural and even a cosmic consciousness, a third philosophy emerged to rescue the individual consciousness again (phenomenology, existentialism), criticizing simultaneously Formalism and Empiricism, and discovering the original unity between the subject and object in the Living World. Thus the "Bouche Beante," the "Yawning Mouth," was finally closed.

3-6. European consciousness produced seven different philosophies. Each one expressed the spirit of the time, three before the Cogito, as if the Cogito was the end of the period and the beginning of another, and three after the Cogito. First, Revivalism of the classical culture in the 14th century was a way to discover humanism and beauty in literature in order to get rid of the overwhelming Theocentrisrn and formal argumentation of the late scholasticism. Second , the Reformation in the 15th century affirmed the importance of the direct relation between man and God, without any institutional mediation, the freedom of the believer, the right to interpret, and the rejection of the authority of the tradition. Third, the Renaissance in the 16^{th} century reaffirmed man as the center of the Universe, his right to know from nature through man's senses, not from the scriptural authority of the Bible or Aristotle, switching the

focus from God to Nature and from the soul to the body. Fourth, Rationalism in the 17th century made reason the only authority, libre arbitre, as an agent in the world, nature having permanent, eternal and unbreakable laws. Fifth, the Enlightenment in the 18th century extended reason to society for global rationalism producing ideas of Reason, Man, Nature, and Progress; generating revolutions based on liberty, equality and fraternity; and basing the whole civil society on the social contract. Sixth, Positivism in the 19th century separated reason and realty, values and facts, soul and body, the ideal and the real. After the separation came the reduction of the first to the second, or the juxtaposition of both, or the confusion between the two levels. Seventh and last, twentieth century Science and Technology, is a last hope for preventing a total decline, and as a prospect for the 21st century.

3-7. The point of arrival is characterized as Global Agnosticism, Scepticism, Relativism, Anarchism, Formalism, Nihilism and “Renversement des valeurs”. Other rhetorical terms are also used, such as Fall, Decline, and Decadence. This “death in the soul" appears in the global crisis everywhere, in economics and politics, despite the several New World Orders, proposed to rescue the sinking boat. Different manifestations of world crisis are now, not looked at as problems needing solutions, but as symptoms of a gradual eclipse of European consciousness and the possible emergence of another leading consciousness, that of the Third World.

3-8. The development of European consciousness left its fingerprint on its structure, creating a European "mentality" approach, or worldview, characterized by:

(a) Separation: The separation between two aspects of the same reality, and conceiving them as mutually exclusive, permanently in opposition, and even in contradiction. It is impossible to harmonize them, to unite or even to reconcile them in one unitarian vision. This Manichean dualism exists at all levels: epistemological such as rational/experimental, deductive/inductive; ontological, such as formal/material, and indeterminism/determinism; Axiological, such as logos/praxis, fact/value, individual/social, capitalism/ socialism, spiritual/temporal, church/state, kingdom of Heaven/kingdom of Earth, God/cesar.

(b) Oscillation: The oscillation between both aspects and the necessity of choosing between one of the two alternatives, without being able to fix a central unifying point, provokes an anxiety. This in turn creates a dynamism, vivacity and constant creativity of new unilateral systems. These are seductive and attractive in the beginning, but become obsolete and repulsive after a while. This may be seen in the arts, from Classicism to Romanticism, then new-Classicism to new-Romanticism; in philosophy, from idealism to realism, and from new-idealism to new-realism; in ideology, from capitalism to socialism and from new-Capitalism (Nordic States) to new-socialism or new- Marxism. The synthesis in the dialectics was rarely made, and the mediation rarely existed. European Consciousness always went from one extreme to another, until it finally loses interest. Thus, when all solutions are exhausted and motivations lost, it compensates its exhaustion in the lethargy of Agnosticism, Relationism, and Nihilism.

(c) The equation between the partial case and the universal judgement. The European example has been extended to all other

examples and to world history, for example Religion is defined as dogmas, the super-natural, rituals, sacraments, faith, and institutions. This is due to the type of religious data available in Europe. This definition has been extended to all other cases and made a universal definition of religion as such. The same extension was made for God, nature, man, society, history, law, and art. However, religion in other cultures is seen differently as modes of life, mass-culture, the social system and State structure.

(d) Discontinuity, This "discontinuity model" results in an unstable suspension between the old and the new, between the past and the present, between Tradition and Modernity. This was a particular case in the history of Europe, the relation between Medieval Times and Modern Times, between Religion and Secularism, between Church and State. Other models, based on continuity, come from outside Europe; from tradition to Modernity; from the Old to the New; from the past to the present. One major cause of obstruction was the imposition of the discontinuity model on traditional science.

3-9. The Western Social Sciences are one of the formulations of European consciousness as a reservoir of human, spatio-temporal and historical experiences. Theoretical formulations are not purely abstract ones, but they expess a "Wertethik." All Social Sciences are not only the expression of European Consciousness, but also the expression of European Weltanschauung. Since Western Social Science is not an innocent science, free from bias, but an ideologically oriented and politically motivated one, the purpose of the New Social Science is to demythologize some of its major concepts, theories, methods and results. Many of them are mere pretensions.

(a) Objectivity. Objectivity is a myth, not only in social science, but even in natural science. Since the World is lived, perceived and conceptualized, it is always a subjective world. Even the natural scientist, observing nature or working in his laboratory, is living in a human world. Understanding is not only followed by doing, but also preceded by motivating the human being so he understands what he is motivated for. Hypotheses, concepts, and methods come from the cultural background and the intellectual and social reservoir of the scientist, subject to time and to space. Images which play the role of hypotheses are essentially grounded in traditions, folklore and narratives. In Natural Science, realities are concepts; facts are numbers; data is information. The natural outcome of natural science is pure mathematics. Objectivity is a secret tool to swallow the most subjective inclinations and human passions, a cover-up for the hidden and deep motivations, a veil of innocence, hiding awful inclinations and pre-mediated acts.

(b) Neutrality: Neutrality is another myth in Western Social Science. It is another device to hide partiality. Even the "impartial spectator" called upon by philosophers and logicians as an arbiter between two conflicting parts is wishful thought. Human existence is already an option between several alternatives. Social Sciences are not only a field of research for the sake of Knowledge, but policy oriented sciences aimed at preventing certain actions or promoting others. Once the social scientist is dealing with nations, peoples, societies, powers, and class struggle, he is forcibly taking sides. His simple interest in the field or in the concept is already a human option.

(c) Universalism: Universalism is a third myth. There is no absolute Social Science. Social science is linked to societies developing in history and tied to cultural pluralism. Any pretension of Universalism is in fact a desire for hegemony, an affirmation of unilateralism, and a denial of the other. Universalism of the self is the source of acculturation of the other. Universalism is the expansion of Western Social Sciences outside their geographic borders, and acculturation is the retreat of traditional culture in front of intellectual persecution and of culture invasion. The confusion between Universal and European, between international and Western, became a common practice and an unquestionable premise, not only in international organizations, but also in modes of thought and modalities of action. The most common and the most dominant becomes the only universal. The universal is the powerful.

3-10. The purpose of the New Social Science is to review many research results of the well-established Western Social Science. The disciplines of sociology of culture and cultural anthropology, beyond culture itself, have attributed to European Consciousness essential features and inherent characteristics which do not exist anywhere else, such as rationalism or the power of "theorization", experimentation and science, humanism and rights, progress and development.

(a) Rationalism: Rationalism is not exclusive to the West (Weber). Every culture has its own use of reason. Considering European Consciousness as the only carrier of rationalism is in fact an expression of Western Ego-centrism. Describing the consciousness of the other as "mentalité primitive," "pensée

sauvage," or mythical mind reveals the other face of Euro-centrism, namely racism. When Western Consciousness began to recognize the limits of rational discourse, only then could it begin to analyze the "symbolic forms" of human knowledge (Cassierer).

(b) Nature: The discovery of nature and the founding of experimental science is not only the invention of the West. Each culture has its own approach to nature. Experience is not limited to experiment, but to human social experience in general. Ancient science, especially medicine in China, India, Greece, Egypt and the Muslim world, was based on experience. The discovery of the experimental method came even too late to influence the beginning of Modern Times, after the translations of Islamic experimental sciences: Medicine, chemistry, biology, astrology. At that time, an experiment was an embodiment of a value. In Western Science, it became only an experiment, denuded of any value. This led to a global crisis, not only in science but also in European humanity (Husserl).

(c) Humanism: Humanism, which initiated the Cogito, the affirmation of the individual at the center of the Cosmos, and the declaration of the rights of man, is not the monopoly of the West. Humanism appears in every culture, not always in the same form as it appeared in the West, God as man, the chieftain as a superman, nature as spirit, the sense of solidarity between members of the same social unit, family, village or tribe, all are different expressions of humanism. The universal declaration of human rights is not more important and valid than the universal declaration of people's rights.

(d) History: Development and progress are not only occurring in the West, the only creator of philosophies of history. Every

culture has its own law of progress, its beginnings, its peak and its decline. Progress is not only material. It can be also spiritual, intellectual and cultural. Progress can be linear as well as a gradual amplification of an original seed. It can be circular, several circles around each other, from the same center, from the small circle to the bigger one. Prophecy progressed in history. Eschatology is the continuation of progress in this world to all other possible worlds. Thus, ancestor worship, popular narratives, story-telling, life after death, even transfigurations of souls, are all mass reflections on the past and future destiny of man.

4. The Assertion of the Self as a Series of Projects

4.1. Positive Assertion: Once the Self is liberated from the Other, its self-assertion switches from the negative assertion through rejection to the positive assertion through reconstruction of its own tradition, as an endogenous substitute to the previous exogenous one. The reconstruction of the endogenous tradition would be the positive guarantee against alienation and acculturation. Since the New Social Science is itself the process of liberation, it is too early to conceptualize its theories, methods and results. However, it is possible to conceive its major fields of research, in order to explore the different domains from which the New Social Science can finally be built. Each one can be an independent sub-project, such as the following:

4.2. Westernization / Dewesternization : This field of research is a link between the first axis in the New Social Science, the liberation from the Other, and the second axis, the assertion of the Self. The liberation from the Other, creating a whole New Science

of "Occidentalism," was essentially made for the sake of the Other, by transforming the subject of yesterday into the object of today. Westernization/ Dewesternization is a rediscovery of the Other as an impediment for the reconstruction of the Tradition, the main task in the second axis, the assertion of the Self. In the consciousness of the World Community of scholars nowadays, in fact, there is an imbalance between the Western and non-Western intellectual frames of reference, in favor of the West. Western culture is the major conceptual framework for social realities. The inadequacy in the social science theoretical framework and social realities is becoming more and more visible. Powerful academic and research centers in the West, strong organizations and learned societies, dominant mass-media and control of information. All render the creativity of the scholars in the periphery limited, cornered, surrounded and finally forgotten. The brain-drain contributed to emptying the Third World of its sources of creativity, and to making it less efficient and more absorbed in Western theories. Westernization is an obstacle to endogenous creativity, since it is easier to imitate than to create. Consequently, we see the hegemony of the cultures of the Center, and the fossilization of the Cultures of the periphery. Cultural pluralism becomes the victim of the mono-culture. Since New Social Science is a theory of social praxis, Westernization is in fact a social reality as it appears in the ruling power-elite and in the imitating masses. It appears, on the cultural level as propogation of secular ideologies of Modernization, and on the behavioral level, as an imitation of individuals and social groups. In traditional societies, Westernization generates a counter-movement, an anti-Westernization in defense of cultural identity and spiritual heritage. As a result, fundamentalism surges

and conservation rules. Together, Westernization and anti - Westernization create an antagonistic dualism in national cultures and a power struggle, without a common unifying national character or national interest. If anti-Westernization is a simple reaction, generating fundamentalism in theory and conservatism in practice, Dewesternization becomes a healthy process which can modernize the Self in its historical continuity and critique the Other, thereby liberating the Self from the alienation in the other. Therefore, Westernization/Dewesternization processes can become the subject of a whole science called "Occidentalism", namely the study of the West by the non-West, as a counter-science to "Orientalism," the study of the non-West by the West.

4.3 Tradition and Modernity : If Westernization/Dewesternization as a Field of research is essentially directed towards the other in order to liberate the Self from the domination of the Other, Tradition and Modernity as a second field of research is intended to replace the dominant alien culture by the endogenous one coming from the very depth of historical traditions and facing the major challenges of the present times. It is the most dominant topic and urgent problem in the Third World of the post-colonial era. It is time to go beyond slogans and political rhetoric. It is a real challenge to the social scientist now to transform the general feeling, the wishful thoughts of peoples for maintaining the past and the present, into a rigorous science. How to modernize a tradition without sacrificing it and without falling into the polarized secularism of the elite and conservatism of the masses? How to cope with modernity without being its victim and without falling into cultural alienation and political isolation?

4.4. Cultural Identity and Universal Pluralism: In the process of development and social transformation, if cultural identity is not preserved, development will always be obstructed and may suffer several setbacks, generating anti-development movements based on the defense of the cultural identity of the people. Cultural identity also shows the limits of the transfer of knowledge. Science and technology are not homeless universal disciplines. They are the embodiment of a whole historical context of societies and cultures in which they originated. Cultural identity also permits endogenous creativity and minimizes the role of imitation. The affirmation of cultural identities by several peoples would initiate a pluralistic world, moving away from monolithism, unilateralism and hegemony. All cultures as equal partners would then christianize the spirit of a Universal pluralism as a common share for all.

4.5. Theology of Liberation : Given the importance of the cultural dimension in socio-political development, the ideological identity in traditional and developing societies appears in theologies of liberation. They are not confined to monotheistic religions. They are common to all oppressed societies, where traditions appear as self-defensive mechanisms against external oppression and internal domination. Theology of liberation can preserve the cultural identity of traditional and developing societies by bridging secular progressivism of the elite and traditional conservatism in history, otherwise used by oppressive powers as means of social control. It can help in the processes of De-Westernization of the intellectuals and reconstruction of mass-culture. It creates the unity of national culture and preserves its historical continuity. It can fulfill the two popular demands the affirmation of cultural identity and realization

of national interests. In traditional societies, religion is still the most efficient tool for social change, once it becomes a vehicle of expression and a motivation for action. Theology of liberation as revolutionary ideology and as mass organization are already built into the mass culture (Belief-Systems) as well as into popular organizations (religious institutions). Theology of liberation is a new contribution essentially, from the Third World to the revolutionary heritage of mankind. It presents a challenge for political and social scientists to lay the grounds for a rigorous new branch of "Political Theology," taking over the classical "Sociology of Religion' and concentrating on myths, rites and institutions, as well as taking over the more contemporary "Political Sociology," describing social phenomena but not changing them.

4.6. Mass-Culture and Political Development: One of the crucial problems in the Third World is mass mobilization, without any other alternative mass-powers, institutions or political parties. Thus, power is left only in the hands of the dictators, kings or officers. In traditional societies, since mass culture is the only living popular ideology, it has become the only possible source of political ideology and political organization. "People's culture," intertwined with "People's power" would fill the ideological and organizational gap in the Third World. Mass-Culture involves both religious and secular traditions, carrying popular value-systems such as proverbs, popular narratives and forms of folklore. They are used as arguments from authority in daily life. A political reconstruction of these prevailing traditions, in support of those expressing popular demands and revolt against those calling for obedience, resignation and acceptance of one's destiny, could be

more efficient than any ideological political discourse. Correspondingly, depending on local mass organizations, family, street groups, district leaders, and village elders would be more efficient than the system of the one-party State.

4.7. Revolution/Counter-Revolution : After the heroic era of Decolonization in the 1950s and the 1960s, which was even behind the idea of UNU and MTP-1, the Third World since the 1970s has gone through a period of counter-revolutions, which are continuing in the 1980s [1]. If previous revolutions were essentially political, present counter-revolutions occur at all levels: political, economic, social and cultural. The Decolonization, which began as a spectacular victory over direct military occupation, was reversed to indirect recolonization of natural resources, labor, market, scientific and technological development. If Decolonization is made by the front-door. Recolonizalion came by the back-door. National Independence, represented by sovereignty over the land, flag. national anthem, a seat in the UN, formal institutions, and foreign delegations was reversed, with economic dependence in food, nutrition, science, technology, development, foreign aid, and even military pacts and bases. Non-alignment was converted to alignment, positive neutralism was pierced and absorbed in the bipolar struggle of the two big powers, in spite of the perpetuation of the Rhetoric and the organization. Development accentuated underdevelopment, planning became State's control, and Socialism yielded to free economy, private enterprise and open-door policies. National heroes and pioneers of liberation struggle became new kings, princes and

(1) UNU = United Nations University. / MTP = Mid-Term Project.

despots, playing the role of the old colonials. A new social stratification occurred. The old upper class became middle class and old middle class became poor. A new class emerged, representing new economic and political powers. Ideologies of Progress, Nationalism and Socialism, generated traditional conservatism. The Political Rhetoric of the surface scrambled and the historical continuation of the depth upsurged. The 1990s may witness a third moment of the dialectics, the era of "Popular movements," which had already begun (Philippines, Haiti, Sudan). The obstructed Decolonization of the first phase will then be rectified by cultural liberation. The overwhelming recolonization of the second phase will then be faced by popular uprisings and civil disobedience.

4.8. Philosophy of History : Since “New Social Science” is expressing the end of one historical consciousness and the beginning of another, philosophy of history becomes an integral part of it. The State of the art now is completely unbalanced, unjust and obsolete. It reveals the spirit of Western modern times, in which philosophy of history flourished, glorifying Europe as the peak of human history. Euro-centricity in social science is in fact the structural philosophy of history throughout modern times. It made Europe the peak of progress in the long history of mankind. The whole history since ancient China, India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt was considered as one phase of the pre-modern age, and only Europe in its modern times is considered as the second phase. Over seven thousand years were reduced to one period and less than seven hundred years were amplified as a second period. The psychology of peoples dominated, with a Manichean dichotomy between two types of humanity: one mythical, primitive,

under-developed, and the other experimental, rational, civilized and developed. This dichotomy, which is based essentially on color or race, one is white and the other non-white, was behind the more dramatic duality between the colonizer and the colonized, between the oppressor and the oppressed, between the Center and the periphery. A conspiracy of silence has been intentionally plotted against the source of Western Culture, to strengthen the myth of originality and creativity, without precedent models. In the same time, methods of influence and infiltration were introduced into non-Western cultures, thus intervened in and interrupted its modern Renaissance creativity in recovering its own resources and previous models. That is, Orientalism was created to picture non-Western cultures as objects, since Europe was the Subject. Once Orientalism began to be discredited, from inside Europe, but mostly from outside, physical and cultural anthropology took over, assuming the same role, either in the name of objective and neutral science, or as an alternative and partial Orientalism. However, given the present World Transformation, it is time to think in terms of a more balanced, just and renewed law of progress, giving ancient Culture its due share, and reconceiving a more representative law of progress, taking into consideration the whole process of Decolonization. Following the East-Wind, it may be possible to conceive a more representative law for history, from the East to the West, in a first phase, and for future history, from West to East in a second phase.

Therefore, philosophy of history is the major field through which the process of liberation occurs, since history is the story of liberty. The prevailing complete imbalance in world history is a

cruel and unforgivable injustice vis-à-vis its periods. Unless this historical injustice is lifted away, the educational system in the Self as well as in the Other will always be based on the complex of inferiority of the Self vis-à-vis the complex of superiority in the Other. This historical injustice, revealed by the actual state of affairs, is one of the major causes of wars of small nations against big powers, as well as one of the reasons for violence, via kidnapping and hijacking, of small groups against classical colonial powers. Unless all nations are considered equal in sharing a common heritage, contributing duly in the making of humanity, there will always be voices of dissent in the souls of the abandoned nations, the marginalized peoples and the forgotten cultures. The conspiracy of silence on the origins of European consciousness has to be lifted in order to trace the contribution of Non-Western cultures in the formation, development and innovations of Western Culture. The West is only accumulating all the past human experience in one time, modern Times, and in one space, Europe.

4.9. Value Systems in the Three Continents : Evidently, the common spiritual heritage in the Third World is underlying its political unity. Formulated differently, the Third World includes Three Continents, Africa-Asian solidarity, African Unity, ASEAN. One of the reasons for the Third World setbacks internally, on the level of socio-political development regionally, on the level of the Inter-State relations and borders clashes or externally, on the level of international relations and the alignment with Big powers is the absence of a strong formulation of this spiritual common share between different countries or regions forming the whole Third world. A common world view for the three quarters of mankind is

the point of strength in any socio-political movement. If the unity of purpose and the common interests of the present are not anchored in the common spiritual and historical heritage, they will always be vulnerable to the vicissitude of time and the fragility of political regimes.

4.10. The Middle East and the East : The Middle East is one of the hottest regions in the world. Its closeness to Western powers made it the subject of direct Colonization and Westernization. However, the link between the Middle East and the East, eastwards by land and sea, is no less visible than the westwards link between the Middle East and the West. Islam, as the main culture in the Middle East, expanded eastwards to Central Asia by land and to South East Asia by sea, more than it expanded westwards to North Africa by land or to Cyprus, Sicily, and Malta by sea. Islam, expanding westwards was at the retreat till modern western colonization of the Muslim world, while Islam, expanding eastwards, was advancing. More than three quarters of the Moslem world are in the East. However, as far as the western wing of the Middle East is stronger than its Eastern wing, Eastern politics will always be linking westward. In order that the Middle East keeps itself at the heart of non-Alignment, its two Western and Eastern wings have to be equal in their historical strength .

5. Conclusion: Objections and Answers.

5.1. It may be argued that "New Social Science" is still only one of the constant reactions against Western Social Science, especially against Euro-centricity. Any alternative social science, as a recreation of another, will still be dominated by that reaction.

Euro-centricity may generate a counter Euro-centricity, which is still Euro-centricity put upside-down. This may be so for a while, until the reaction can produce its own creativity independently from the action. Creating a whole conceptual world, a new methodology and obtaining new results require the whole process of Dewesternization and the simultaneous initiation of all previous fields of research, till the Third world becomes conceptually and methodologically independent. For the time being, if "New Social Science" is even only a reaction to Western Social Science, it helps in the process of self-assertion, the minimization of the oppressive exogeneity and the maximization of the liberating endogenity.

5.2. Actually, the state of the art is characterized by a huge imbalance between the centers of creativity. Most of the social science is done in the center and disseminated to the periphery. Whatever scholars in the periphery would say, it will always be placed in the framework of the theories of the center. The theoretical consciousness of world scholarship is and will continue for long time to be one-sided. However, the "New Social Science" aims at creating a certain balance in world theoretical consciousness, introducing new data analysis, new case-studies, and new models. Western social science is an accumulation of the whole Western Times in the last seven hundred years, without mentioning its previous sources in ancient and historical cultures. Decolonization is still a recent phenomena of the past two generations. The accumulation of liberating experiences is still ongoing. New Social Science is the beginning of reflective experience, a continuation of Decolonization as cultural liberation.

5.3. The "New Social Science" may be seen as unscientific, rhetoric, simple wishful thought or national ideology, revealing a complex of inferiority vis-à-vis the superior West. In fact, social science is an expression of living experiences of social groups and different societies in various historical phases. Objectivism is a myth, hiding the most subjective tendency. Neutrality is also a twin myth to cover up partially. Rhetoric is a primary phase in the scientific formulation of any discipline. It is a form of syllogism in a state of presumption. Once the stage is crossed, rhetoric becomes demonstration. All disciplines began in fact as wishful thought. They were the work of imagination before they were the work of reason. The huge accomplishments of sciences were in the beginning mere dreams. Since social science is a reflection of societies expressing themselves in political forms, such as Nation or State, it carries the spirit of the Nation, namely Nationalism, since the dominant social science is pretending to be universal. The spirit of Nationalism becomes a national reaction against a false universalism. National sociology in Latin America already took the lead from professional and North American sociology. The social scientist is a scholar and a citizen. He combines in his discipline scholarship and citizenship. Since the actual social science reveals the imbalance in world scholarship in favor of Western Social Science, and since the New Social Science expresses the dialectics between the Self and the Other, it is natural that the dominated Self in its process of liberation from the dominating Other creates its own science, and expresses its own reflections on the process of liberation. Knowledge was never separated from interest or power.

5.4. Undoubtedly, many components of the New Social Science have been already proposed from within Western Social Science itself. However, voices of dissent within the European consciousness do not form its collective "Mind". Besides, these voices of dissent are constant, in every domain and in all directions. Those concerning the New Social Science are not focused upon and do not form a general and homogeneous entity. Other complementary components exist in the Third World, as New Social Thought. It is time to switch from New Social Thought to New Social Science. The passage from Third World Political Rhetoric to New Social Thought is completed by another passage from New Social Thought to New Social Science.

Cultural and Inter-cultural Multilateralism

What Muslims can contribute to create New Global Order?

I- Introduction: Object and Method.

The Multilateralism-Unilateralism dichotomy is a permanent tension in every culture, in all its historical periods. The tension between the two sides is a sign of vivacity and a basis of survival. No cultural tradition is entirely monolithic. All great cultural traditions have generated competing, often conflicting worldviews. Indeed, the tension within a particular cultural tradition may be regarded as a source of creativity and adaptiveness to the changing constellations of problems confronting the culture (1). When multilateralism prevails, then liberalism, freedom of thought, dialogue and mutual respect also prevail. If unilateralism overwhelms, then conservatism, censorship and orthodoxy also overwhelm. However, absolute multilateralism leads to scepticism, relativism and agnosticism, because of the lack of norms and criteria of right and wrong, true and false, good and bad. While absolute unilateralism leads to

(*) International conference, Inter-cultural dialogue for a new equilibrium: Constraints and Possibilities.

(1) Letter of Robert W. Cox to Hassan Hanafi. 13 February, 1992.

dogmatism, fanaticism and violence. Unilateralism is an independent subject, a problematique per se. It appears in and out UN system. It is only a point of application, the subjection of multiple nations to one hegemonic power, the double standard in the application of the UN charter. This dichotomy is a metaphysical one, the problem of Unity and multiplicity of the one and the many. It has other synonyms such as monolithism and pluralism. Multilateralism in social science is first in thought, before being in action. It is a worldview before being a system, it is related to values and cultures before being implemented in laws and institutions.

Multilateralism is indeed related to the problem of cultural and social change. Without falling into an idealist assumption, nothing occurs in action if it does not occur first in perception, based in values and norms embedded in worldviews. Superpower hegemony is not only related to power struggle but may be essentially based on and motivated by ego-centrism and racism.

In developing countries, religion plays the role of social science in developed societies. Religious sciences: theology, philosophy, mysticism, and jurisprudence are traditional forms of social science.

Theology is political theory. Philosophy is cultural anthropology, jurisprudence is economic theory, and mysticism is behavioural sciences. Therefore, intellectual perspectives in the social and human sciences, bearing on multilateralism, find their roots in religious sciences [1].

The Multilateralism-Unilateralism dichotomy already implies a value judgment. Unilateralism is a minus and

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(1) Programme on Multilateralism and the United Nations System, 1990-1995 (MUNS). UN, April 1991. pp. 8-9.

multilateralism is a plus. This may already be a cultural bias in Western-oriented worldviews. By contrast, in Asia and may be in Africa, and especially in China and Japan cultural unilateralism may be a plus, while multilateralism is a minus. Multilateralism in the West is based on the concept of singularity in Being and human individuality, while unilateralism in Asia and Africa is based on the concept of the whole or totality in Being and in human groups.

In order to study images of World Order deriving from different traditions of civilizations and problems of negotiation with different value-systems [(1)], a conceptual analysis of World Order is first required. In the case of Islam, the concept of World Order is a new concept that requires reading it back into an old tradition, that of Islam as a projection of the present into the past. As Bergson says, "***Le mirage du présent au passée***" (an interpretation of the past according to the present), or as Bergson also expressed it, "***Le movement rétrograde du vrai***". The concept of World Order is still unclear. What is the difference between World Order and Worldview? Isn't World Order one of the manifestations in international relations of Worldview? Is World Order old or new? Is it the same World in a new form? Has World Order changed, in modern times since Euro-centrism?

The question in Islam is also, what data to describe Islam per se, or Islam as a historical development? The word "tradition" is ambiguous. Does it mean Islam per se, as described in textual sources the Qur'an first and the Hadith second? An Ideal Islam is always referred to as subject to different textual hermeneutics, according to the socio-political position of the interpreter. History is already inherent in Ideal Islam. The Qur'an

(1) MUNS, p. 13.

has been revealed in history in socio-political circumstances. The Hadith, sayings of the Prophet, was uttered in his time, in Arabia, a spatio-temporal limitation of any given. A historical Islam is indeed historical, being revealed in space. Moreover, Islam is a step in the historical development of revelation in history, added to the two previous steps, Judaism and Christianity.

Any documentary or preconceived method, based on secondary literature revealing the state of the art, has its limitations. First, it is not a first hand research. It depends on multiple and sometimes conflicting theories in social science. The possibility of error is double, the error of the theory and that of its application. Second, it presents external evidence, using arguments of authority, not arguments of reason. Its veracity is due to the conformity of the result to the theory, not to the external world. Third, the choice of a theory is motivated by ideological bias, without self-verification of the premises. Conflicting results are due to conflicting theories, and may not be due to conflicting realities. Some theories are self-contradictory, for example, liberalism as the foundation of Multilateralism leads to hegemony of superpowers.

Since most theories originated in Western social science, they have their limitations, once applied in other cultures. Since the application of Multilateralism is made in non-Western cultures, Western theories on Multilateralism would be un-compatible with non-Western cultures. Theories induced from certain societies may be not applicable to other societies without theoretical modifications. It would be a contradiction in terms, or unconformity in science, to make an Islamic approach to cultural and inter-cultural Multilateralism, using Western literature stemming from different intellectual traditions, such as classical realism, liberal institutionalism, world system structuralism, and

historical dialects. These may be relevant to the socio-political history of the West, but look alien as tools of analysis for other traditions, namely Islam [(1)].

Rather, phenomenological method is chosen as the most suitable method to study such subjects. Reflexive method, depending on internal coherence and self-evidence, is more persuasive than documentary method depending on external references, even related to the state of the art. Reflection is not mere subjective and void meditation, but reflection on something. In reflection, both subject and object are two aspects of the same reality.

Objectivity is guaranteed by the awakened consciousness, exempt from passion and inclination. It is also guaranteed by the existence of a world of meanings and essences, a real world, a regional ontology, or ontological regions. The intuition of essences, the direct relation between the subject and object as two subjects, prevents all kinds of mystification and intercessions of alien concepts or strange objects.

The level of analysis will not be cultural values per se, as independent essences, nor world orders stemming out of them, nor national and international organizations' most recent embodiment of both cultural values and World Order, rather, the three levels together, intertwined in living individual and historical experience. Neither the purely formal level of cultural values, nor the purely material level of socio-political organizations, but something linked together in the living experience, away from a double reduction to a formal world system theory and a material reduction to economics. Lived Islam may be a combination between the ideal textual Islam and the real historical Islam, since both lie in the unity of living

(1) Robert W. Cox. Perspectives on Multilateralism. UNU, April 199 1. p. 16-44.

experience.

A Comparison between different cultures gives different instances of analysis to substantiate essences. Structures are inherent in history. Scholars from different cultures can arrive at the same description of essences. It is already a manifestation of unity and multiplicity, unity of essence, and multiplicity of historical instances. Meaningful comparison helps in widening the scope of Western social science, objectwise and methodwise. Islam is the national culture in Africa and may be becoming so in Europe and America. The Gulf War was one incentive to the question of the New World Order.

II- Multilateralism as the Built-In Structure in Islam.

The Multilateralism-Unilateralism dichotomy is one of the major aspects in Islam. God is one, creation is many. The Unity-Multiplicity problematique is essential in Islam. God is one, since solvitur in excelsis, the vinuculum sunstantiale proposed by Leibniz. Unity is at the origin of the world. The world came out of one source. Unity is also at the end of the world, unity of destiny, death and resurrection. Unity is always in the passage between the beginning and the end, the unity of truth or life. All human beings are rational, facing one objective truth, and are capable of communing with each other, recognizing their divergences and realizing their convergences. Therefore, unity is the income, multiplicity is the outcome. Unity is the input, multiplicity is the output. Between the beginning and the end, the dialectics of unity and multiplicity occur.

The Unity of God is not silent but active. It manifests itself also in multiple Attributes: Science, Power, Life, Hearing, Sight, Speech, and Will. The Unity of God is the carrier of a universal code of ethics for all mankind. That is why multiplicity in life is

not agnosticism, scepticism or relativism but, realism, since human beings are different in frame of reference, in ways of understanding, in depth of knowledge, in methods of reasoning, in languages, customs, manners and habits. As it is impossible to consider the origin of the world multiple, it is also impossible to consider ways of life one. If unity comes from God, multiplicity comes from man. Unity is Divine, while multiplicity is human. Multiplicity expresses the spirit of Islam. It is proved by argument of Reason, of Nature and of Revelation. Reason proves that human beings and peoples are different. They are different in temperament and in choices. Each nation has a national character[(1)].

Divergences are manifestations of it. Generations are different. A permanent quarrel between the old and the new, between the ancients, and the modems occurs in every culture. Historical periods are different. Each period expresses the spirit of the time. Nature, including minerals, plants, and animals, proves also that human beings, peoples, culture, manners, customs, and habits are different. They are different in their passions, motivations and perceptions. Their differences are due to human freedom and free choice. Nature stems from one origin and reunifies spontaneously, one trunk and may branches and leaves. Individuality is a human principle that requires multiplicity. Otherwise, human beings will be copies of each other, mere repetitions and formal substitutions[(2)].

Revelation is a reconfirmation of what Reason and Nature pose. Seven times the Qur'an stresses this natural multiplicity, the difference of night and day (five times), of tongues and

(1) "O Mankind, we created you of Male and a Female, and we made you into nations and tribes, that you may know each other " (49-13) The Holy Qur'an. Text, translation and commentary by Yusuf Ali, Dar al-Arabia, Beirut, 1968.

(2) "And every one of them will come to Him singly on the day ofjudgement" (19:95).

colors (once). One time the word "difference" is used negatively, once difference is in rational evidence and a priori truth [(1)].

The adjective different is mentioned ten times, seven times have the same meaning. different natural phenomena, different color of drinks such as honey, different colors of mountains, different animals and human beings, different plants and fruits, dif- ferent things. Opinions are also different. Difference is a sign of Divine Mercy [(2)]. Divergencies exist as real in order to discover their convergences as ideal.

Only two times, the adjective has a negative meaning when Knowledge goes beyond the senses and makes judgement on matters beyond experience, such as eschatologies.

The verb "to differentiate" is mentioned thirty times, referring to previous experience of revelation, as divergences without convergences. Jews and Christians differed between themselves in scriptures regarding, historical authenticity, literal or metaphoric understanding, and practicing the law [(3)]. They differed in principle not only in modes of application, in dogma not only in law, in theory not only in practice [(4)].

Differences here reach the extreme and become heresies [(5)]. They come from human passions and conflicting interests, not from revelation [(6)]. Each step in revelation corrects and verifies previous

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(1) "Had it been from other than God, they would surely have found therin much discrepancy" (4:82).

(2) "If thy Lord had so willed, he could have made mankind one people, but they will not cease to dispute." (11:118).

(3) "Because God sent down the book in truth. But those who seek causes of dispute in the book are in a schism" (2:176).

(4) "We certainly gave Moses the book aforetime, but disputes arose therein" (41:45).

(5) "If God had so willed, succeding generations, would not have fought among each other after clear signs had come to them, but they chose to wrangle, some believing and others rejecting" (2:253).

(6) "It was only after Knowledge had been granted to them that they fell into schisms, through insolent envy." (45:17).

steps [1].
It reveals certainty amidst conjectures [2]. God alone knows certainty while human beings conjecture [3]. The ideal is convergence, the real is divergence [4]. Returning to God is discovering the original unity. Differences are related to time, circumstances, interests and understanding, a positive sign. Differences may reach the extreme and become divergences and conflicts leading to war, while differences of views can be solved peacefully. Differences in life are the cause of survival [5]. This metaphysical principle of unity and diversity, of one and many, which is the basis of Multilateralism, appeared in the history of Islamic culture in all formative sciences. In theology, two major schools of though, Sh'ism and Sunnism. In Sunnism, there are two other schools of thought, Ash'arism and Mu'tazilism, Transcendence and anthropomorphism, Predestination and free will, Scriptures and Reason, Faith and Work, Theocracy and Democracy. In philosophy different trends also existed in theosophy (Al-Farabi, Avicenna) and scientific Rationalism (Al-Kindi, Averrois). In mysticism different currents also existed: ethical (Rabi'a, Al-Basri), psychological (Thu Al-Nun, Al-Hallaj), and metaphysical (Ibn Arabi, Ibn Sab'i in). In

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(1) "Mankind was one single nation, and God sent messengers with glad tidings and warnings. And God with them He sent the book in truth to judge between people of the book, after the clear signs came, who did not differ among themselves except through selfish contumacy"(2:213); also "and We sent down the book to thee for the express purpose, that thou shouldest make clear to them those things in which they differ, and that it should be a guide and a mercy to those who believe". (16:64).

(2) "Verily this Qur'an doth explain to the children of Israel most of the matters in which they disagree" (27:76).

(3) "Then shall ye all return unto me, and 1 will judge between you of the matters where you dispute." (3:55).

(4) "Mankind was but one nation, but differed. Had it not been for a word that went forth before from thy Lord, their differences would have been settled between them" (10:19).

(5) "And did not God cheek one set of people by means of another, He would indeed be full of mischief" (2:251); "Did not God check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques in which the name of God is commemorated." (22:40).

jurisprudence, there are four schools of law: first, pragmatic realistic (Malikite), giving priority to the common welfare; second, theoretical prevailing reasoning and inferences from premises (Hanafite); third, syncretic and intermediate, combining principles and realities, theoretical premises with mass interests and common welfare (Shafi'te): fourth, textual and literal, shying away from all forms of theoretical reasoning the opinion being hypothetical, and from pragmatic and mass interests, always linked to human passions (Hanbalite). Individual effort of understanding is a source of law irrespective of its results. A right reasoning has two points, while a wrong reasoning has one point due to the effort spent. This multilateralism ended in history because of external threat (Crusades) and internal despotism. In fact, the Crusades began at the end of fifth century Hijra. In front of the external threat, the state strengthened its threshold. Differences lead to divergences and the dissipation of energy. Every one is under arms for the defence of the state. Orthodoxy was the best custodian, versus liberalism, outward openness and esoterism, inward openness. All are internal threats, while conservatism and liberalism are the guarantees for victory. Closing outside requires closing inside. The defence of external and geographical frontiers begins with the defence of internal and intellectual frontiers. The strength of the state outside, against foreign domination, also demands the strength of the state inside, against internal opposition. Al-Gazali is the theologian, the philosopher, the mystic and jurist, who made this historical and cultural conversion from multilateralism to unilateralism. He chose orthodoxy (Ash'arism) as the official state doctrine of God or the Sultan as Absolute, an ideology of power. He chose for the masses mysticism, namely resignation, patience, reliance, acceptance, asceticism, renunciation. This is an ideology of obedience. He also discredited theological, philosophical and mystical opposition, which challenged the

authority of the Ruler and directed itself to mass mobilization, overground or underground. Al-Gazali legitimized taking power by ***coup d'etat***. The legitimate Rule is whatever one who has power and controls the state. The previous free election as source of sovereignty was tarnished. Since then, modem military ***coups d'etat*** were deeply rooted in culture. As a result, for the last millennium, unilateralism became the main stream in Islamic national culture, used politically and institutionally as the unconscious basis of dictatorship. The Attributes of God are: Knowledge, Power, Life, Hearing, Sight, Speech and Will. These are the same attributes of the Sultan, knowledgeable of everything through his secret services, powerful over everything through his forces of security, even having eternal life through his nomination for life. He also hears, sees, speaks and wills. His political speeches are almost Holy Scriptures. He is always right and the opposition is always wrong. He is the Saviour, the redeemer. This is the theological root of political dictatorship. The Imam is almost nominated, not elected. Sunni political theory of free election yielded to the Shi'i one based on textual nomination. In human action, unilateralism gave priority to predestination over free will, to faith over works, to scripture over reason. It monopolized the interpretation of the scriptures in order to monopolize political power, since legitimization of power comes from scriptures. Thus age, earnings, prices of goods in the markets, sickness and health all come from the superpower, God or the Sultan. The Pyramidal Worldview is also an inherent part of Islamic national culture. The world is a pyramid, a summit and a base. The relation between both is the relation between one and many, good and evil, high and low, virtue and vice, perfection and imperfection, Pure and impure. This vertical dualism fringes on the social structure and forms class society, divided into rich and poor, male and female in the patriarchal family, father and sons in patriarchal societies. These

images of world order form the mental structure underlying such perspective in a deeper level [(1)].

III- Multilateralism as Built-Out Structure in Islam.

While built-in structure means cultural multilateralism, built- out structure means inter-culture multilateralism, as a result of the openness of Islamic culture to other cultures for interaction and mutual interchange, diachronically with previous religions and cultures and synchronically with neighbouring cultures. Islam is the last series of Abrahamic religions, stressing unity of God, social solidarity and dignity of man. The essence of religion is the same. Changes are only in terms of expression, due to development in human consciousness and cognitive powers, as Lessing described them in his "Education of the Human Race". When humanity was in the childlike age, means of expression were sensual, based on punishment and reward. When humanity reached the adolescent age, spiritual and moral means of expression were used to satisfy the dreams and utopias of the youth. When humanity reached the maturity age, realistic and pragmatic means of expression were used in order to build and to transform revelation as an ideal structure of the world, through human action. Regarding social solidarity, the first stage was a material social group, chosen as a field of experience in which to educate people and to crystallize independent individual human consciousness. The experience ended by establishing a Kingdom on Earth (Judaism), disobedient to the Kingdom of God. The second stage was an utopian society, a reaction to the first, a Kingdom of Heavens which is near in time and nowhere in space. The only hope for salvation was in the heart. It ended in monasticism (Christianity). The third stage, Islam, accumulating the two previous experiences, is the

(1) MUNS, p. 14.

implementation of the kingdom of heavens on earth, the realization of the ideal as real. Regarding the dignity of man, in the first stage man's worth was his belonging to the chosen people. He is saved through the remnant. In the second, man's glory was his belief in the saviour. In the third, man's dignity is his individual moral responsibility, manifesting itself in the good deed.

Islam is not only the last in the series of Abrahamic religions, but also the inheritance of ancient Asian, Mesopotamian and Egyptian religions. Revealed religions capitalized on historical religions. Revelation does not only descend from the heavens, but also ascends from earth. Logically speaking, truth can be known by deduction or by induction. Buddhism is a moral development of Hinduism, stressing internal enlightenment, like Christianity. Confucianism is a socio-political development of the I-Ching, ancient Chinese religions. Ancient Mesopotamian religions linked Marduk to man and cosmos. Hamuraby laws are an origin of Islamic law. Ancient Egyptian religions reached monotheism: Power behind the Sun and immortality of the soul, punishment and reward. In the whole ancient Near East, religions are linked in time and space between Asia, Africa and Europe. A Model of cultural interaction may be found in the unity of ancient cultures, an Ur-Religion, an Ur-Kultur.

Synchronically, Islam was also open to neighbouring cultures, Persian and Hindu from the East, Greek and Roman from the West. Islam was victorious on the ground and inherited vast territories. However, it showed full respect to previous religions and cultures, sharing the same beliefs and values of God and moral action. New converts, as well as those who kept their religions, showed loyalty to the new religion and culture, using their previous intellectual and cultural background to

understand it. Islam became philosophy after the translation of Greek philosophy, became jurisprudence after the translation of Persian political thought, and became mathematics after the translation of Indian arithmetic. Christian Arabs of Syria, keeping their own religion according to Islamic law, also showed loyalty to the new society and culture. They translated Greek philosophy, already translated into Syriac, the language of liturgy, to Arabic, to be at hand and in use by Muslim Arabs, seen as brothers and cousins. The translation was done first through the mediation of Syriac and second, directly from Greek to Arabic.

After these two types of translation, another stage of cultural interaction began, that of commentary. A commentary is a self- exercise to understand the original text. It can be prolix, to analyse the text piecemeal, or concise, to concentrate on the meaning. A commentary is a certain kind of analysis of the translated text, going beyond language to the structure of thought itself, to complete what is lacking, to eliminate what is excessive, and to restructure the essence in a more balanced middle way. It is a reproduction of the original text in a new cultural milieu, after dropping the cultural circumstances of the milieu in which the original text was composed. Cultural exchange occurs on three levels: Language, Thought and Reality, according to the three meanings of logos suggested by Husserl: Term, Meaning, and Thing. A cultural exchange occurs on the linguistic level when the language of the new neighbouring and translated culture is substituted for the language of the old Islamic one. The new coming language is rational, open, and human, compared to the old legal, closed meaning. The old meaning is re-expressed by the newly translated term. New dimensions of meaning are revealed, which were hidden in the old term. The thing meant and expressed becomes more

authentic, more visible and more lived. This pseudo-morphology, a pure linguistic phenomenon, "explains one mode of thought in terms of another, without threatening the destruction of either" [1]. The whole tripartite philosophy was reconstructed, with logic, as a normative science which protects thinking from errors; physics, which leads to metaphysics, and metaphysics, where human intellect enters into direct relation with Divine Intellect. The whole society is governed by the intellect and ruled by the king-philosopher, or the philosopher-king. A new ideal emerged in Islamic culture, which the European Enlightenment reached one millennium later. Revelation, Reason and Nature are from the same order. Revelation was the subject of rational criticism in terms of historical texts, belief-systems and ethical codes. Reason was the origin of mathematical sciences. Nature was discovered as the object of natural sciences. The virtuous city was not only an utopia, but a real one, preserving the unity of mankind, social solidarity, and the dignity of man. Cultures are the expression of different national characters. Greek philosophy expressed Greek Logos. Roman Scepticism expressed Roman sensuality. Arab-Islamic culture unified the Greek ideal and the Roman real. It rejected logical Formalism as well as sceptical Nihilism. After seven centuries when Islamic culture began to decline, the same process of cultural interaction occurred with African and Euro-American cultures. Islam expanded downward to Africa and northward to Europe and America. New cultural interactions occurred. Afro-Islamic culture addressed itself against apartheid, tribalism and Fetichism. It contributed in developing African societies towards cleanliness and covering, as well as limiting polygamy and ethical behaviour. A new Euro-American Islamic culture was manifested in the Muslim Council of Europe, in

(1) MUNS, p. 13-14.

Islam as human rights, and in the Nation of Islam as an egalitarian community in the USA. When these intercultural relations occurred with Western cultures during the last two centuries, power relations between Islam and the West changed in favour of the West. Modern Christian Syrian translators were more loyal to Western culture and languages than to local cultures and languages. The purpose was to propagate Western culture amidst local cultures. Within Islam, transliteration dominated over translation, due to the complex of inferiority ***vis à vis*** Western culture. The new meaning was superposed on the old meaning, causing a certain kind of dualism in the culture between the old and the new, between the in and the out. Two worlds opposed each other, the self and the other, the self receiving the shock of modernity, and eager for development and freedom, the other hegemonizing and eager to dominate. The endogenous addressed itself against the exogenous, in the name of authenticity and against alienation. Fundamentalism was the natural reaction to Westernization, the defence of the spiritual patrimony against the invading Western culture. For fundamentalism, "Darkness comes from the West," whereas for Westernization, "Sunrise comes from the West". This divergence of culture sources generated in a political power struggle between fundamentalism and secularism. Each one introduced itself as the legitimate inheritor of political power, the first in the name of legacy, the second in the name of modernity. A war is still going on between the two brother-enemies (Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Sudan), the first calling for a theocratic state applying Islamic law, while the second is defending a free democratic and secular state. Actual political regimes are neither the first nor the second, being neither military nor royal. Both regimes lack legitimacy. Militarism and kingdoms are not legal Islamic regimes. That is why they are always challenged by

theocracy hailed by fundamentalism, and by democracy defended by secularism.

However, an Islamic image of World Order is derived from Islamic tradition and culture, one universal community, including several equal communities, sharing one universal code of ethics, an expression of the unity of God. Racialism, ethnicities, and sectarianism are completely alien to the Islamic Worldview. "Therefore, cultural traditions also involve a reaction to challenges from other cultures. They react partly by internalizing aspects of alien culture, partly by redefining the authenticity of their own tradition to meet new circumstances" (1).

IV- Inter-cultural Multilateralism and New World Order.

In theory, the very essence of Western culture for itself is Multilateralism. Its sources oscillated between Plato, Aristotle and Socrates; between Idealism, Realism and Humanism, between Rationalism, Empiricism and Existentialism; between philosophy of Mind, philosophy of Nature and philosophy of Existence. This "triple Multilateralism" continued on through the middle ages between Augustinianism, Thomism and Mysticism. However, this "multilateralism of the surface" was carried out in certain "unilateralism of depth", worked out in the tension of "Aristotle and Church". The Reformation in the Fifteenth century was the rejection of the authority of the Church, while the Renaissance in the Sixteenth century was the rejection of the authority of Aristotle.

In modern times, unilateralism in depth was destroyed. "Aristotle's dixit" ended with the destruction of argument of

(1) Letter of Robert W. Cox to Hanafi, 13 February 1992.

authority. The world became epistemologically naked without any theoretical cover. Reason gave only viewpoints on reality, depending on human options motivated by human passions and interests. Different philosophical systems were constructed to interpret the world. Three were proposed: two opposing and one in the middle, on the origin model Plato, Aristotle and Socrates: Rationalism, Empiricism and Humanism; Idealism, Realism and Existentialism. Almost every century offered these three alternatives, according to the dialectic law of action, reaction and mediation, thesis, antithesis and synthesis. In the 17th century there were Rationalism (Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranch, Leibnitz); Empiricism (Bacon, Locke, Hobbes); and Humanism (Pascal). In the 18th century the same three alternatives continued: Transcendentalism (Kant), Sensualism (Hume), and Mysticism (Hamann). They also continued in the 19th century: Idealism (Fichte, Schelling, Schopenhauer), Realism (Darwin, Haeckel, A. Comte, J. S. Mill), and Existentialism (Kierkegaard, Nietzsche). In the 20th century the three lines continued: Conceptualism (New-Hegelianism and L. Brunschwig), Psycho-Physical Parallelism (Wundt, Charcot, Fechner), Phenomenology (Husserl, Heidegger, Jaspers, G. Marcel, M. Murleau-Ponty, J. P. Sartre, A. Camus). Thus the world was at once a concept, an idea or a subject; another time experience, sense-data or object; a third time existence, passion or anguish.

However and in practice, the very essence of Western culture in modern times, behind this multilateralism of surface, is unilateralism of depth. In spite of these alternatives, the three centres of thought, Reason, Reality and Human Existence, are all functioning for a deeper motivation in European consciousness: Hegemony, Supremacy and Expansion outside its natural borders, Euro-centrism, new forms of old Jewish election and racialism based on color. Here Reason rationalizes Western

Universals. Experience gathers data about non-Western peoples and cultures. Humanism expands outside, overwhelming other humanisms in the name of acculturation. This deep restriction was crystallised in the so-called geographic discoveries of Africa and Asia in the 15th century, which lead to the discovery of America, as if Africa, Asia and the New World had not existed before the knowledge of the white man. The other exists only insofar as the self knows it. Geographic discoveries continued under Western hegemony, which reached its peak in 19th century Imperialism. In spite of decolonization in the 20th century, the decolonized countries became more dependent on their colonizers. Western hegemony continued in different forms: economic, political military, scientific, cultural and information hegemonies, an almost total monopoly of modern means of communication. Military, economic and cultural power were transformed into scientific, technological and information power. "Temporary and declared colonialism" was transformed into "permanent and undeclared colonialism".

Multilateralism on the surface, accompanied by unilateralism in depth, was manifested in a certain kind of dualism in practice, between the centre and the periphery. The West is the centre, and the whole non-West is the periphery. The centre creates, the periphery consumes. The centre is the eternal master, the periphery is the eternal disciple. It is a proto-type for the one way relationship of inter-cultural unilateralism, the centre gives, the periphery takes, or so it seems to the centre.

The motivation of this model is the myth of Western culture as an unprecedented proto-type of Universal Culture for all peoples, Culture per se, Culture with a capital C, while all other cultures are repetitions, cultures with small cs. The truth is Western. Philosophy, science and art are Western. Worldview and life-style are also Western, with logical mentality versus

"***mentalité primitive***" and "***pensée sauvage***". Acculturation means the substitution of Western culture for local cultures, in the name of modernization in the time of the 20th century, on the eve of the 21st century. Cultural Euro-centrism is the expression of a deep Euro-ethnicity and Euro-racialism, which find their roots in the innate feeling of supremacy, a secular transformation of the Jewish doctrine of election, and the continuation of imperial Rome. Neither the Greek Logos nor the Christian dictum, "Love thy neighbour", were deep motivations in Western consciousness. The Western image of the world was derived from the Western tradition and heritage, or so it seems to the West.

On the contrary, genuine inter-cultural multilateralism requires that all cultures, including that of the centre, are equal in value. It requires a two-way relationship, give and take, create and consume. It happened that Western culture came at the end of time, after the beginning of culture in the East, in China, Persia, Mesopotamia, Canaan and Ancient Egypt, seven thousands years before modem times. The West, in order to diffuse the myth of a singular model, made a conspiracy of silence on the Oriental sources. Five centuries, Western modern times, took over the whole of history of twenty centuries, and even of the whole history of the world. The delicious taste of the fruits left the leaves, the branches, the trunk and the roots aside. The accumulation of the history of human creativity in Western modern times does not mean the reduction of human history to Western modern history. Inter-cultural multilateralism requires re-writing the story of mankind in a more equitable way, in which every culture can have its own share.

Inter-cultural multilateralism combines unity and diversity, unity of a universal code of ethics and diversity of philosophical worldviews. A universal code of ethics does not change from

one place to another, from one case to another. It is not a double standard code, applied once in the Gulf in defence of Kuwait but silent another time in Palestine and South Africa, applied once to protect the Kurds and the Shi'ites in Northern and Southern Iraq, but silent another time in the genocide of Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The ideals of the Western enlightenment were limited to the geographical border of Europe. The declaration of universal human rights is to be completed by another declaration of the Universal Declaration of People's Rights for self-determination. Since rights are not only a declaration of intent but a real practice, an equal share of wealth between rich North and poor South must be a part of people's rights in world wealth, to prevent thousands of deaths, Somalia for example. Minerals, markets and manpower of the South are historically the source of the wealth of the North. Oil wealth, water resources and manpower have to be equally distributed in the Arab World. These are "the intersubjective meanings that constitute reality for different human groups" (1). Meanings and realities are the same, cultures and interests are two sides of the same coin. "Therefore, a balance is to be struck between the distinctiveness of different traditions, cultures or civilizations, and values that can become the common basis for coexistence and mutual enrichment of these traditions" (2). That requires a non-hegemonic World Order, first on the intercultural level, going beyond the centre and the periphery dichotomy. "A non-hegemonic World Order would have to be based on reciprocal recognition of the validity of different civilizations and a research for common ground as a basis for coexistence among them" (3).

(1) MUNS. p. 13.
(2) Letter of Robert W. Cox to Hanafi, 13 February 1992.
(3) MUNS. p. 13.

Since the downfall of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, accompanied by the rebirth of local cultures as carriers of nationalities, ethnicities and sectarianisms, the world order appears as if it is going to be reshaped into a uni-polar world instead of a bi-polar world with nationalities instead of totalities, balance of interest instead balance of power, bread and butter instead of nuclear weapons and even conventional arms, peaceful coexistence instead of Cold War. Euro-centrism did not change. Eastern Europe and Soviet Russia belong geographically and culturally to Europe. Europe is rearranging itself, reconciling with its socialist rival of the last century, coming back to the big brother, with liberalism as ideology, capitalism as political system. The Third World has lost its traditional ally from the period of Liberation struggle in the 1950's and in the 1960's. However, even before the downfall of the faithful ally, the Third World itself had already suffered from counter-revolutions, setbacks, dependence on Western powers, drought and hunger, desertification and civil wars. It had already begun, in many of its parts, the open-door policy, privatization of the public sector, and the abolishment of socialist laws, agrarian reform, industrialization, self-reliance, development, planning, free education, and workers rights. Non-alignment yielded to alignment, except in rare cases (Cuba & China). "Previous hegemonies have derived their universals from the dominant society. A post-hegemonic order will have to derive its universals in a research for common ground among constituent traditions of civilizations" [1]. This is the challenge to the World Order based on equal and inter-cultural multilateralism.



(1) Programme on Multilateralism and the United Nations System(MUNS). 1990-1995 UN, 1991. p. 3.

CULTURES, CONFLICT OR DIALOGUE?

Alternative Models

I. Introduction

Cultures are living entities, carried by living human beings, and subject to the same laws of life, birth and death, struggle or concord, conflict or dialogue. The two alternative models exist. By-passing conflict and preaching dialogue is mere rhetoric. History of cultures would show when the two models existed and under which circumstances.

Every culture has two aspects: a particularist and a universalist. The particularist aspect is the vehicle of self-identity, self-affirmation and autonomy. The universalist aspect is the common share between the self and the other, "solvitur in ecselsis," the common goal for all humanity. The relation between particularism and universalism is like that between change and permanence.

Since culture is the expression of a people, and a people struggles for survival, culture becomes a vehicle for power, a tool for survival. Cultures provide the worldview, the image of the self and of the other, the value system to adopt, the norms of behavior, the legitimizing devices. They create their own history and revitalize, by their own will, choices from memory. Therefore, culture is power. There is no innocent culture, calling for love of the neighbor and the Kingdom of God, except in void and formal preaching, not in social science. Wishful thought is something and plane reality is something else.

(*) Third Afro-Asian philosophy conference, Cairo 31 October – 3 November, 1991.

Cultural interaction, likewise, is the expression of the balance of power between cultures. Dialogue is not only mutual talk, but dialectics between the two partners. The power of Greek Logos was behind the inter-cultural dialogue between Greek philosophy and nascent Islam. The power of the Transcendence was behind the intercultural relation between Islamic sciences and philosophy from one side, and medieval scholasticism on the other side. The power of convergence was behind the Andalusian symbiosis among Islamic, Jewish and Christian cultures in Spain. The power of domination was, and maybe is, behind the cultural interaction between Europe in modern times and Asia, Africa and Latin America since the "Geographic Discoveries" by the capital C of the small cs, from the center to the periphery. Examples from the two alternative models, conflict and dialogue, are numerous. The challenge is when does each model occur and under which circumstances? And if the model of conflict prevails nowadays, what are the ways and means to change it to the model of dialogue?

II. The Conflict Model

The conflict model occurs when one culture makes itself the culture with capital C and all other cultures are cultures with small cs. The relation between the two is a metaphysical one, the relation between one and many, an ontological one, God and creatures, and even an ethical relation, the Ought to the Is. One culture, for quest to power, transcends other cultures and surpasses them, like Zeus on Mount Olympus. The order of cultures is a value order. One, the capital C, is superior to others, the small c's, one in the center, others in the periphery.

Afterwards, the process of acculturation begins. In the mind of the capital C, acculturation means dropping and adding,

dropping the Indigenous and adding the exogenous, a necessary passage from underdevelopment to development, from backwardness to progress, from primitivism to modernism, from death to life. In the mind of small cs, acculturation means the destruction of national cultures of small cs to implement the imperial culture of capital C. Since culture is the expression of national identity, the destruction of national cultures is a destruction of national entities, communities and nations.

That was the case of Western culture vis à vis non-Western cultures in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This was the supremacy of the white man's culture over the cultures of black, red and yellow peoples. Europe is in the center and the three continents on the periphery. The movement began when the so called "Geographic Discoveries" initiated Western colonialism to the ancient world and led to missionary invasions. The largest pillage in world history began during the European "modern times" with the flow of wealth, gold and slaves from the periphery to the center, the destruction of the periphery for the construction of the center. The universal culture became the center where all particular cultures enter.

Since Western culture is a compound culture from several sub-cultures (British, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, Russian) every national sub-culture played the role of the European Mother Culture. Thus, the French destroyed Arab and Islamic culture in north, central and west Africa, especially in Algeria. The British did the same in India, the Dutch in Indonesia, the Portuguese and the Spanish in Latin America, the Italians in Ethiopia and Somalia, the Russians in Islamic republics of central Asia. In the name of the West, all of them destroyed endogenous cultures, including the red Indians in North America. Endogeous people are either

exterminated or forced to live in reservations. This is unforgotten history, especially after the Decolonization era, the decaying culture in the center and the rebirthing of cultures in the periphery.

This acculturation process, with the destruction of small c's for the hegemony of the big C, occurs on different levels. Language comes first. Since language is the way to communicate and cooperate, endogenous language is prohibited by the destruction of schools, and a new language of the newcomers is planted. Gradually, new generations are uprooted from their own cultures and anchored in the alien one. Education comes second. The local history is erased and Mother France or Mother Russia come as substitute history. Knowledge about the self is minimized, knowledge about the other is maximized. Local customs and manners are considered folklore, to be observed by the other or fossilized in museums. Traditional law of the self yields to the civil code of the other. The centers of learning are in the center, attracting the novices from the periphery, a one-way learning, from the eternal master to the eternal disciple. The center produces and the periphery consumes. The capital C creates and the small c's acquire. The transfer of knowledge is a normal process, from those who have to those who have not. "Orientalism" took the lead and put the big C as an observer and small c's as observed. Stereotyped images forged by the center about the periphery multiplied and became substitute realities. The historical past of small cs is forgotten by the power of the mass-media of the center. The present is doomed. The story of mankind has been written for and by the big C, as the culmination of all cultures. Euro-centrism becomes law and order.

III. The Dialogue Model

The dialogue model occurs when all cultures are equal, capital C's or small c's, and better small c's since all cultures are the product of history, the creation of peoples and a man-made self-image. And since all peoples are equal in value, irrespective of color, cultures as national products are also equal in value.

In case of historical movements, or the birth and fall of Empires, cultures are also alike if the rising nation, prevailing over the decaying ones, presents a more universal code of ethics, in front of which all human beings, as individuals, are equal irrespective of the rise and fall of nations. In the model of conflict, historical movements between nations are invasions, while in the model of dialogue, their movements are movements of liberation from inequality, between nations or between rulers and ruled, to equality.

In this case, the particularities of the liberated nations are not destroyed, as in the conflict model, but rather are affirmed and defended. Customs and manners which are not contrary to the universal code of ethics are maintained. Those which are contrary to it disappear. This newly perfected particularism preserves individual and national identity. The universal code of ethics does not uproot peoples from their cultures, but on the contrary, it anchors them more and more. That was the case with the expansion of Islam in Malaysia and Africa. Islamization means Malayization and Africanization.

In the dialogue model, the relations between cultures are not unilateral, from capital C to small c's, as in the conflict model, but multilateral, give and take. Learning is a double process between two masters or two disciples, mutual enrichment and collective creativity. To illustrate, the Arabesque comes from central Asia,

that is, it existed before Islam and expressed the infinity in art after Islam. With Islam, the Roman arch became the Arab Arch, an expression of palm-trees.

The model of dialogue appears clearly, in history, in the relation between Islamic philosophy from one side and Greek, Christian and Jewish philosophy from the other side. Islamic philosophy borrowed from Greek philosophy, with its language, intellect, form, matter, cause, movement, substance, and accident, and used it to express new content. Greek logic was translated, commented and restructured within Islamic theory of knowledge. Greek ethics were also reaffirmed and completed. Islamic philosophy took the old language and gave it new meaning, new wine in old bottles. Arab translators were the medium, Christians in faith and Arabs in culture.

Afterwards, Jewish and Christian philosophers took the new meanings from Islamic philosophy and expressed them in their own proper languages. Moses communicated with the intellect like Mohammed. The Jewish Torah had been restructured according to the Shari'a. Islamic mysticism appeared in "Zohar." The Islamic Kalam was borrowed by Jewish thinkers, Saadia Gaon, Maimonides and others, to prove the veracity of' Judaism. Christian philosophers in late scholasticism did likewise. Islamic Transcendence, Unity and Justice, the Universal code of ethics, the virtuous city, the immortality of the soul, all were behind Christian rationalism after Anselm, Abelard, and Thomas Acquinas. Islamic experimental sciences were taken as models by Duns Scotus, William of Occam and Roger Bacon. Dialogue even became a literary genre in the khuzari of Jehuda Halevi. The Muslim became the philosopher per excellence in Abelard's "Dialogue Between a Jew, a Christian and a Philosopher."

In the dialogue model, all equal cultures can participate in the common goals and share the same universal code, based on reason and the right to know, nature and the use of its laws, rights of man and peoples in freedom, social justice and welfare. All peoples and cultures strive for the ideals of enlightenment, which appeared in the Andalusian symbiosis. In the model of conflict, these ideals are only for the self, not for the other, who should stay in ignorance, magic, fear, oppression, exploitation and poverty. The ideals of the European enlightenment were broken at the borders of Europe and even at the borders of every European nation, generating a model of conflict, while the ideals of Islamic Enlightenment went beyond peoples and nations, generating a model of dialogue.

IV - Conclusion

If the model of dialogue existed in the past and the model of conflict is more prevailing in the present, it is possible by certain means to recuperate the model of dialogue, as follows:

1- Continuous efforts to put an end to the polarization between capital C in the center and small c's in the periphery. A dialogue between cultures is only possible when they are equal. As far as the dialogue continues with the complex of superiority from the culture in the center and the complex of inferiority from the cultures in the periphery, the model of conflict prevails. The multiplication of the centers of cultures equal in value, permits two-way relations between them, give and take, a process of cooperation, mutual learning and mutual enrichment. This way, every culture can learn what it has previously ignored.

2- This also requires an equal share in historiography. To the extent Europe is the center of history, in which all cultures culminate, the model of conflict prevails. Cultures of the periphery have to

find an equal share in writing history. The history of the world did not begin in modern times. Seven thousand years of human culture cannot be reduced to one chapter prior to modern times, and even then, not recognized as the source, since the European culture is a new creation without precedents. In re-writing history, the European culture has to be reduced to its proper size, to return back to its natural geographic borders. Cultures in the periphery can then breath and expound from within, relieved of external pressure from without.

3- It is necessary to put to an end the stereotyped images of every culture, prevalent in the model of conflict, which cultures are presently creating of the other. It was normal from the central culture to distort the images of peripheral cultures as a means of colonization: images of ignorance, backwardness, underdevelopment, inflation, debts, corruption, dictatorship, torture, violation of human rights, tribalism, civil wars, terrorism, poverty, overspending, the ugly Arab in London, the Harem, polygamy, patriarchal society, unemployment, dependency, in short, the slave. It was also normal as a self-defense, in the process of decolonization, to draw another stereotyped reverse image of the Colonizer: Colonialism, imperialism, Zionism, capitalism, exploitation, monopoly, militarism, racism, Eurocentrism, arrogance, genocide, materialism, in short, the master. Since decolonization occurred, some of these images have become irrelevant. Once cultures become equal, the glory of each culture appears: science and art in China, mathematics and ethics in India, politics and Administration in Persia, Science and philosophy in the Muslim World. The role of the mass-media is decisive. New Orientalism and new cultural anthropology are needed.

Humanity has had enough of the model of conflict. The model of dialogue is within reach.

FROM DECOLONIZATION TO CULTURAL LIBERATION

1. Limits of Decolonization

1.1. The heroic movement of Decolonization culminated in the 1960s, but had already begun in some parts of the colonized world in the last several decades of the Nineteenth Century, the peak of the era of colonization. The Twentieth Century can be characterized as the century of Decolonization.

1.2. Decolonization meant for previous generations the end of military occupation, whether through National struggle lead by National liberation Fronts (Algeria, Vietnam) or by peaceful means and the cancellation of treaties (Egypt, Lebanon, Sudan, Gulf-States, Syria), or by both (Morocco, Tunisia, Southern Yemen).

1.3. During the era of National liberation, it was very easy to mobilize the whole nation for a direct and open military struggle against the colonial powers. All social, economic, political and cultural differences disappeared in front of the common goal. The military presence of the colonial powers was so clear and concerted that it was an offense to national pride, to social political and cultural affiliations of the people.

1.4. Once direct colonization ended and direct military presence of colonial powers disappeared, the formation of the post-colonial State began. Once the people returned to themselves to build the country, all internal and latent contradictions emerged. Once the external and unifying threat ends, the internal and

(*) XI World Congress of Sociology. New Delhi. 18-22 August 1986.

contradictory structure reappears. The challenge was not only to define one's self negatively against the other, namely the colonial power, but to define one's self positively, namely the reconstruction of the self and of the newly decolonized society.

1.5. Since Decolonization was led by the middle class, it was normal that it would be the first to benefit from it as the major constituency in the formation of the post-colonial State. The middle class value-system and modes of behavior are well known in the sociology of values, with the establishment of law and order, quick upward social mobility, liberal economy even within socialist slogans, identification of the interest of the ruling middle-class with that of the whole nation, opportunism and double-source benefits from East and West, and pragmatism without any convicted affiliation to any political ideology.

1.6. Since most of the "cadre" which participated in the national struggle for liberation was educated in the West, the formation of the post-colonial State was usually according to the Western model. The gains of decolonization were symbolized by national hymn, flag, seat in United Nations, army, national police, ministries, people's palace, radio and television station, press, and constitution. Sometimes things got out of hand and were added crowns, decorations, jewels, thrones, and immortal titles. Such regimes failed quickly and were replaced by other rivals, while the dethroned become errant fugitives.

1.7 Development was conceived as economic growth, expansion of agriculture, light and heavy industrialization, and public services. Since the State became the substitute for the colonial power, it was the center of decision making processes. The people

who were at the heart of national struggle lead by the national liberation front were left aside or at the most considered as the recipient of the new orders. The whole process of modernization was carried out by State bureaucrats, without mass participation. As the situation worsened, more requests for foreign aid were required, and consequently more dependency on the previous Colonial Powers occured. The independence of' yesterday became the dependence of today and maybe the complete absorption of the newly independent State in the world economy-system with its multinational corporations.

1.8. Since development was conceived as economic growth, following the most well-known model of development at that time, and since the masses were dropped after they had accomplished their task during the liberation period, mass-culture was completely ignored. Mass-culture means traditional value-systems, providing the masses with their worldviews and with their motivations for action. Western education of the power elite encouraged them to ignore the importance of mass-culture as carriers of traditional value systems. Indigenous leaders (Gandhi , Mao, Alal Al-Fasi) left behind them a second westernized generation of leadership.

1.9. After the failure of the process of modernization, mass-culture reacted vehemently, as a natural movement of conservation, in reaction to the failure of secular progressivism. Since the new presented itself as a substitute for the old, the old reaffirmed itself by rejection the new and presented itself as the only monolithic, authentic, historical, legal, viable and "necessary" option. Since the political authority had originated in a historical legality, namely the leadership of the process decolonization, and given the actual

increased dependency on the previous colonial powers, the political authority felt threatened from inside and secured from outside. Oppressive measures were taken in order to secure the political regime via mass control. As oppression increased, fundamentalism challenged the very source of political power of the ruling elite and presented a substitute theoretical foundation, namely the rule of Divine Law. The rule of human and secular law was presented as usurpation of the rule of the Divine Law. Since the masses are still religious, and in the absence of a real answer from the power elite except by increasing the measures of oppressions and exceptional laws, the isolation of the political regime grew, and the rally of the masses around a new theory of Divine sovereignty gained strength.

II. The Genesis of Counter-Revolutions

2.1. If the 1950s and 1960s were the two decades of decolonization and national liberation movements, the 1970s and 1980s were the two decades of Re-colonization and national capitalism, linked to the international capital. It is curious that the passage from Revolution to counter-Revolution occurred in the same Generation and often by the same persons.

2.2. If military occupation disappeared, economic dependency of the decolonized society emerged in its place. Raw material was still exported to the colonial powers. The decolonized nations were still used as vast markets and cheap labor. Political decolonization was aborted by economic dependency. National economy was finally absorbed in International capital and multinational corporations. Food sufficiency was converted to food dependency, affiliated to big powers, national and international companies.

2.3. Even in case of a strong national and independent economy achieved through socialism, self-reliance, industrialization, public sectors, agrarian reform, and national capitalism, the lack of traditional channels of communication and mass-participation rendered all these new autochthonous gains as a new colonialism via new State-imposed structures. With bureaucratic management and top-down decision-making, the State as a productive force was unable to satisfy growing national demands. The private sector emerged as the only saviour: Free trade, free economy with tax evasions and new investment laws encouraging foreign capital. These put an end to economic planning and State intervention. With inflation, price increases, low wages, unemployment, and corruption, nothing remained from national independence and State sovereignty.

2.4. The masses did not move to protect their socio-political gains. They stayed pure spectators with the exception of riots for bread occasionally and for few days, caused by the mismanagement of the State and the declaration of price increases for commodities. Riots were quickly controlled by security forces, more by the army than the police. The controversial decisions were merely temporarily withdrawn, later to be re-instated again gradually, indirectly and silently.

2.5. The socio-political gains were not protected by parallel gains in the mass-culture. The Decolonization didn't intertwine with cultural liberation. The formation of the Post-colonial State was made in a formal way, making abstraction of the mass perceptions and cultural visions of the World.

2.6. The discrepancy between the infra-structure and the super-structure is one of the major causes of these setbacks in the Third

World. It is a permanent source of Counter-Revolutions. Since the super-structure is imposed by State bureaucracy and the infra-structure has its grass-roots in the mass-culture and in people's traditions, the infra-structure emerges from the mass-consciousness and brings down the imposed super- structure. The Revolution from the top collapsed from the Counter-Revolution of the bottom. High buildings cannot survive earthquakes.

2.7. The desire to form new ideologies based on mass Culture had already expressed itself in many doctrines such as N'Khruma consciencisme, N'yerrere "Ujama," Pretoria's "Bantu" philosophy, Kaddafi's Green book, Nasser's philosophy of revolution, Ba'th Ideology of Arab Nationalism, African socialism, "Desarallio" in Latin America, Ghandism in Asia, Fanon's wretched of the earth, E. Cesaire's "Discourse sur le colonialism," Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed. All of them are still a political Rhetoric. A Theoretical break-through has not occurred yet. Theoretical and conceptual aspects of secular ideology, such as Marxism, are still appealing. A declaration of Intent is something and a theoretical analysis is something else. The Good Will of the 50s and 60s, converted to Bad Will in the 70s and 80s, has to come again based on Reason.

2.8. Every generalization risks ignoring specific cases, those which began in traditional value-systems, anchored in mass-culture, such as Mao and Ghandi . Theologies of liberation, Buddhism in Vietnam, Islam in Algeria, Roman-Catholicism in Latin America, these are also other examples of theoretical breakthroughs in traditional belief-systems as carriers of socio-political goals and means of expressions of people' needs.

2.9. Mass-culture by nature, is ambiguous. It carries two contradictory statement and expresses two opposite trends. Since mass-culture is the production of societies in history, it expresses the class-structure, oppressingass-culture representing the ruling elite and oppressed culture representing through the ruled majority.

2.10. The challenge is how to deal with two opposite ideologies, ideology of power representing the ruling class and ideology of resignation, representing the ruled classes. Is it possible to transfer the ideology of power from the elite to the masses, from the minority to the majority, from the top to the bottom? Is it possible to change the ideology of resignation to ideology of revolt, and to transform the ideology of obedience to an ideology of opposition? If this restructuring of mass-culture occurs, cultural liberation begins. Decolonization henceforth will be protected from within, not only from without. Decolonization based on cultural liberation would be complete and consequently permanent. The risk of setbacks and counter-resolutions would be minimized, if not completely eliminated.

III. The Reconstruction of Mass-Culture

3.1. From Tradition to Political Ideology: Proverbs, narratives, folklore, belief, and ethical systems are all different forms of the cultural heritage. In Traditional societies, these traditions are still a source of authority. They are used as arguments to prove or to deny. the formation of the elite in the West. Whether during their education through their affiliations to political parties, or by reading the revolutionary literature, secularism was made a sub-conscious ideological option regardless of the type of people's culture. The discrepancy between the people and a secularized elite,

feeling unpopular, led the elite to depend more and more on forces of security to maintain order and to acquire mass obedience. To the extent that the ruling elite finds external alliance with similar powers sharing the same ideology and the masses rally themselves to indigenous movements. To the extent that the secular progressivism of the elite is surrounded more and more, and traditional conservatism widens its constituency more and more. Therefore, the transformation of tradition as political ideology prevents the fall of the elite into closed secularism allied to the previous colonial Powers, and the fall of the masses into traditional conservatism, a stumbling block for development.

3. 2. From the Vertical to the Horizontal: In Traditional societies, worldviews are still a major factor in mass behavior. All political rhetoric and mediaharangue for the masses to work, to increase production and to commit themselves to the national cause, meet deaf ears. Political speeches have a very limited and temporary effect. The masses are still perceiving the world vertically. The relation between any two elements is conceived as a relation between the superior and the inferior. To the extent the traditional mass-culture is so structured, the commitment to the world will always be weak, the society will always be a class-society, the administration will always be bureaucratic, the life-style will always be patriarchal, autocratic and authoritarian. Once the traditional culture provides the masses with a new horizontal worldview, the world can be discovered as a field of action.

Once the relation between the two elements are conceived horizontally between two equals on the same level, the class society changes to a classless society. Bureaucracy changes to people's

participation and mass-decision. The patriarchal Society changes to a free society where every body is equal to everybody. The dialectics between the superior and the inferior but shifts to a relation of the front and the back. The religious dynamics of upward-downward switches to a social dynamics between forward and backward. Going up becomes going forward, coming down becomes going backward. This change in axes or poles in the mass-culture is the metaphysical foundation of all other practical changes, in order to discover the world in man, society and history.

3. 3. From Predestination to Free Will: Predestination appears in mass-culture as an acceptance of the status quo, once all efforts to change realities fail. Since it is difficult, hard and even cruel to accept human defeat, and the outcome of the battle is considered as predetermined, the established political power must invent and infuse such a doctrine through the State-controlled mass media, to guarantee the continuation of mass receptivity. However, it is possible that Predestination switches direction, if it is a confidence in future victory of the oppressed. If the defeat yesterday occurred by an absolute and necessary fiat, the victory of tomorrow will also occur by the same fiat. Predestination in this case is a double-edged weapon for the oppressor against the oppressed, which is usually the case, or for the oppressed against the oppressor. It is also possible to implement such a transformation from predestination to free will through mass re-education. The defeat is not imposed by an Absolute and necessary fiat, but according to the laws of power struggle. If these laws are well known, the defeat can be transformed into victory. A complete objective analysis of different factors in the field of action, the quantitative and qualitative

comparison between the different powers in conflict , the choice of the moment and the historical initiative, would generate in the masses a free-will capable of taking into consideration all factors in the power-struggle. Miracles in traditional mass-culture can be reinterpreted as events happening according to natural laws, which can be analyzed, understood and put under human control.

3. 4. From Inspiration to Reason: In every tradition, the role of seers, healers, diviners, the elders of the people and of the sages is predominant. This special knowledge comes from a source of authority, of the fortune tellers and diviners. The power elite as the new seers play this traditional role, making from the new secular political ideology a substitute source of inspiration. A rational education of the masses to understand the relation between cause and effect in human and social life, as well as in nature, would remove all kinds of tutorship, cognitive as well as behavioral, imposed on the masses by the power-elite. There is no revolution before the age of reason. The age of reason is even the prelude of the revolution. Decolonization is only the first step, followed by cultural liberation as a second step toward the fulfillment of the permanent revolution.

3. 5. From Logos to Praxis: The masses usually are considered recipients of decisions, executors of orders and followers of directions. They are obedient, docile and resigned. They often take the role of spectators, not actors. Demonstrations and riots are only temporary and very exceptional. Since the masses are mostly uneducated, illiterate and even ignorant, they stand still, wide-eyed with astonishment, hearing theories and thoughts of the intellectuals. The desires to understand the world and not to fear authority make

logos prevail in action. The reeducation of the masses that it is time to change the world, not only to understand it, would reactivate mass-culture and consequently mobilize the masses for mass action and mass participation. Expressing criticism by jokes, proverbs and stories is not a substitute for direct mass action.

3. 5. From Passive Values to Active Values: Since mass culture is formed by the infusion of the state of mind of the defeated and hence oppressed majority, a certain type of value-system appears. It looks passive vis - à - vis political power, as a recognition and acceptance of the victory of the other and the defeat of the self. But from the view of the self, it is a temporary device for a permanent struggle to maintain internal resistance, awaiting the suitable future moment for an external resistance against the Oppressor. Since the circumstances changed and decolonization occurred, it then became possible to infuse another value-system, active from the inside as well as from the outside, working for the self as well as for the other. The old value-system, generated during the period of oppression: acceptance, reliance, resignation, patience, obedience, can now change to another and even opposite value-system: revolution, revolt, opposition, rejection, dissent. Liberation from external domination is only a prelude for liberation from internal oppression.

3. 7. From Rituals to Social Actions: Rituals in social life are factors of self-maintenance and social cohesion. They are closer to those symbolic actions, revealing meanings and generating motivations, fostered in the colonial era. Colonial powers wanted to keep rituals void of any social content, limiting them to formal gestures or folkloric manifestations at the most. After decolonization, the dichotomy between rituals and socio-political

actions pursue. The first is obsolete and irrelevant, while the second is State-imposed and inefficient. If rituals can flourish in significance, they expand social actions. Social action will then be the highest accomplishment of acts of piety. Rituals may be needed only in certain societies as an affirmation of national identity vis-à-vis external domination or internal alienation. Once the crisis of identity is resolved, rituals switch from signs to actions, and from symbols to realities. The temple becomes the whole World and the form of rituals becomes martyrdom.

3. 8. From Charisma to Mass-Movement: Decolonization was accomplished thanks to Charismatic leadership: Nasser, N'Khruma, Tito, Ghandi, Sekou-Toure, Nehru, Sukarno, Mao. Charisma absorbed political institutions and created a virtual mass participation. Once Charisma disappeared, the political void appeared, counter-revolution took over and traditional conservatism overruled secular progressivism. The Masses have their own institutions and leaders. Houses of worship can play the role of political parties, as popular centers without suffering from mass boycotts or people's apathy. Religious and local leaders, school teachers, healers, popular singers, narrators, elders, of the people. All are respected, trustworthy and already have their constituencies. Their speeches can carry socio-political programs for mass education. Popular feasts, saint's birthdays, graveyard's visits. All are good occasions for mass-rallies and political mobilizations.

3. 9. From the Past and Future to the Present: Traditional societies are sometimes called historical societies, given the weight of the past. The past may appear in ancestor worship or in the concept of the golden age, the glory of ancient Kingdoms and the lost Paradise. It is easy to find a compensation for the painful

present in the glorious past or in the hopeful future, but it is difficult to understand the crisis of the present. A re-orientation in the dimension of time within the mass-culture helps in the affirmation of the present and the use of historical consciousness, providing it by accumulated experiences and learned lessons. Eschatology symbolizes the future hope of man and society in a better and more just life. However, this hope is not an escape from the present, but rather a motivation for action, to overcome the present situation with more perseverance.

3.10. From Eternity to Time: Finally the beautifying vision and the happy ending in which masses usually live helps in overcoming the miseries of this world. The desire for eternity is a desire for salvation. If life as limited time is in crisis, life as eternity is not. However, eternity outside time is void and formal. Eternity in time through action, culminating in martyrdom, is concrete and real. Mass-culture is always described as sinking in Eternity. Time is dissolved, the distinction between past, present and future is abolished. A story can continue on in time and in space. However, rediscovering time in mass-culture would help in inserting peoples in history and re-instating their action in time. Eternity is a desire, but time is reality. Belief systems can help in rescuing time from the womb of Eternity. These include Covenant (Judaism), Incarnation (Christianity), or Vocation (Islam).

If Decolonization was the work of the Free Officers, cultural liberation will be the task of Free Thinkers. The Bastille takeover by the Plebians of Paris was prepared by the revolutionary writings of the Enlightenment. The Restoration was only a facade for the Republic, continuing on in people's minds, and permanently present in Mass-Consciousness.

This Book

Islam in the Modern World is a collection of essays of the famous contemporary Egyptian and Muslim philosopher, Hassan Hanafi, the follower of Afghani, Iqbal and Sayyed Qutb, the founder of the Islamic left and liberation Islamic theology and the author of the most prestigious Arab philosophical project "Tradition and modernism".

This second volume **Tradition, Revolution and Culture** contains five sections: Islamic fundamentalism; Hermeneutic, liberation and revolution; Islam and world peace; Islam and the West; Social science and culture. It gives a wide panorama on the major challenges in our time: Decolonization, Liberation, Revolution, Violence, Peace and the West from an Islamic perspective.